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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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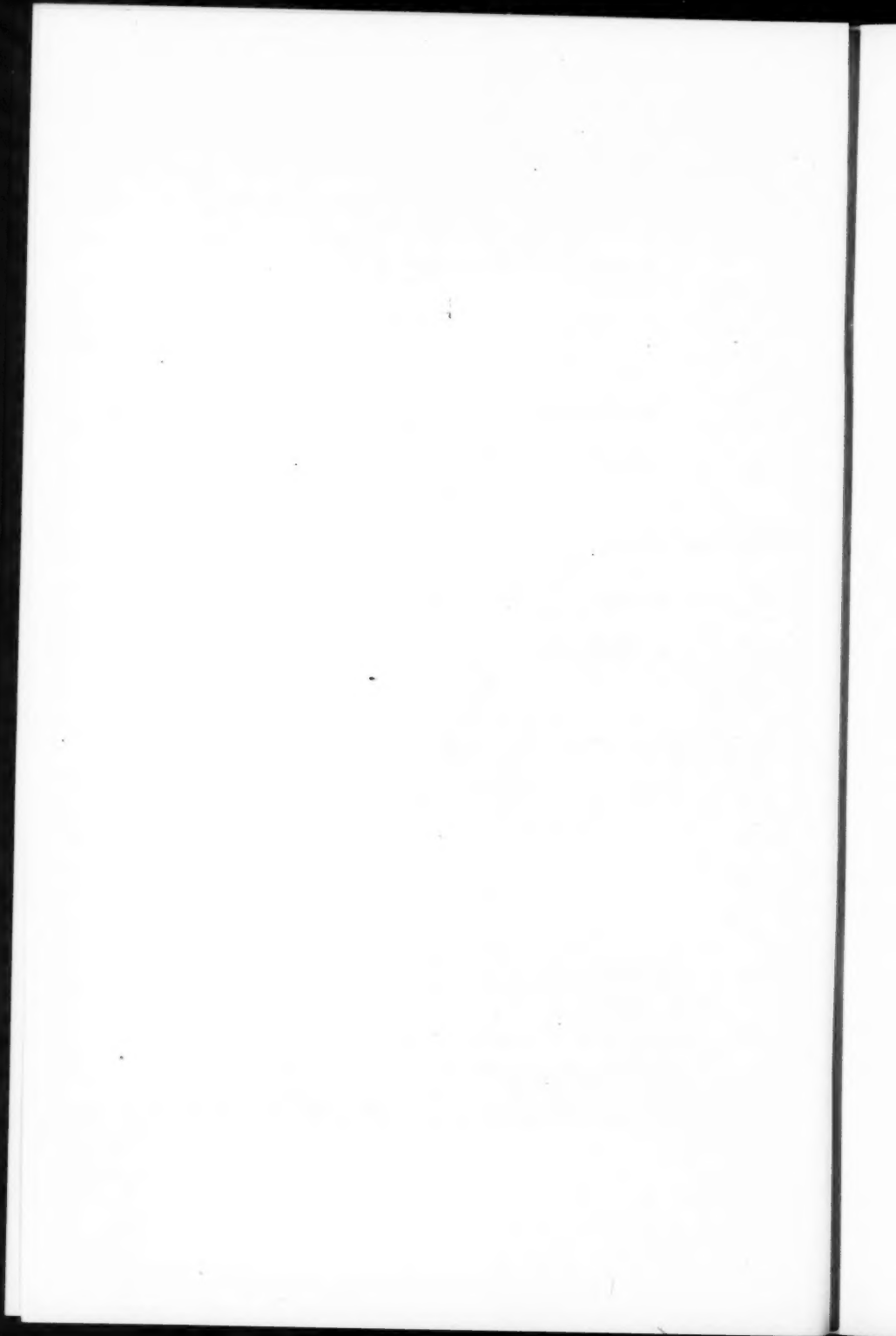


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Contents

	<i>Page</i>
BOONSLICKERS IN THE GOLD RUSH. By <i>Kate L. Gregg</i>	345
DANIEL BOONE'S SONS IN MISSOURI. By <i>John K. Hulston</i>	361
NICHOLAS HESSE, GERMAN VISITOR TO MISSOURI, 1835-1837. Part IV	373
Translated by <i>William G. Bek</i>	373
THE MISSOURI READER: THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY. Part VIII.	
Edited by <i>Dorothy Penn</i>	391
Trades and Professions.....	391
Barter.....	396
HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.....	406
Members Active in Increasing Society's Membership.....	406
New Members of the Society.....	407
Lutheran Centennial.....	409
Joseph Pulitzer Centennial Memorial.....	409
Gillespie Collection of War Letters.....	410
Weekly Feature Articles of the Society.....	411
Microfilming Missouri Weekly Newspapers.....	411
Activities of County Historical Societies.....	412
Anniversaries.....	413
Notes.....	414
Historical Publications.....	419
Obituaries.....	423
MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.....	428
The Founding of St. Joseph.....	428
Missouri's Fort Knox.....	429
They Had the Jump on Psychiatry.....	429
Over Their Heads.....	430
What Is the World Coming To?.....	430
Where History Abounds.....	430
The Parking Problem in 1850.....	431
Religious Candy.....	431
The Black Bottle Had It's Points.....	432
A Fashion Hazard of 1888.....	432
He Might Have Been Reading the Post Cards.....	432
Bacon Wasn't \$1 a Pound Then.....	433
Missouri Historical Data in Magazines.....	433

Contents

Illustrations

BOONE'S LICK SPRING. SONS OF DANIEL BOONE MAKING SALT. 1807.
Cover design reproduced from a mural by Victor Higgins in the
Missouri State Capitol. See "Daniel Boone's Sons In Missouri."

(ii)

BOONSLICKERS IN THE GOLD RUSH TO CALIFORNIA

EDITED BY KATE L. GREGG*

My subject, "Boonslickers in the Gold Rush," is a good one, full of life at its peak, but sometimes as I have tried to work out this talk, I have thought it too good—so good, in fact, that it sometimes has seemed to have the complexity of life itself. It is like a tapestry whose design stands out only as light sets forth dark, or as dark sets forth light. In another sense, it is like an old fashioned panorama, a new part unrolling and coming into view as the old disappears around the other spindle. Life in the gold rush was a complex of going, coming, returning—of hopes, fears, triumphs, despairs—misery, poverty, and astounding wealth. It was a trail of the long chance, the slender margin, the unbelievable. In times grown very comfortable, it is good for us to contemplate for a few minutes the days when life was an adventure.

Men of the Boonslick who had lived through the frontier days of their valley were used to hardships of the long trails and far-off places. Men like William Becknell, Benjamin Cooper and his nephews, the Carsons, Ewing Young, and Francis Yount had pioneered the Santa Fe Trail and places beyond. A great many of them had scouted the Rocky Mountain streams for beaver. They were used to the hazards of the buffalo chase, the wiles of the good and bad Indians: they had had a fine training in knowing how to handle themselves when

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An article entitled "Missourians in the Gold Rush" by Miss Gregg, appeared in the *Missouri Historical Review* Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, January 1945. This second article, "Boonslickers in the Gold Rush," was first presented in the form of a paper read at the meeting, November 20, 1946 of the Boonslick Historical Society at Fayette, Missouri.

the unexpected turned up. Though a goodly number of those who went to California in the Gold Rush can be found in the list of those who lived in forts during the latter part of the War of 1812, most of the '49ers were pioneer sons who had grown up on tales of adventure in war, the trail, and the chase. Such names as Carson, Cooper, Hancock, Bynum, Williams, Clark, and many others are common to both lists.

Some like Stephen Cooper and ex-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs had gone to California in the earlier forties and were on the ground, ready to wave beckoning hands to their relatives and friends in Missouri very soon after Thomas Marshall made his world-shaking discovery.

Marshall discovered gold in the mill-race of Sutter's saw mill on January 24, 1848. He carried the news to Sutter four days later. At the end of the week Sutter went to see with his own eyes, and two weeks later recorded in his diary February 14th: "Whittmer returned with the two Wagons from the Mountains and told everybody of the Gold mines there and brought a few samples with him."¹ From that time the rush was on in California.

But communications were so poor between the Pacific Coast, Washington, D. C., and the Boonslick that it was nearly a year and a half later before the rush was on in the Missouri Valley. The news of Marshall's discovery appeared in the Washington, D. C. *Union* on September 19, 1848; in the St. Louis *Republican*, the same story five days later. On October 10, the *Missouri Democrat* of Fayette carried Thomas O. Larkins's letter of July 1 to the Navy Department telling of the gold discovery; and in the same issue the story of Midshipman Edward Fitzgerald Beale, who had carried the government dispatches to Washington. In other words, the news that broke in Washington, D. C. on September 19, appeared in Fayette three weeks later. There are various gold stories in the Glasgow *Weekly Times* in late October and early November, but the editor had his tongue in his cheek. The gold ore analyzed had turned out to be iron pyrites; Governor Mason of

¹New Helvetia Diary, a Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and his Clerks at New Helvetia, California, from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848. (San Francisco: The Graham Press, 1939) p. 116.

California had discovered some deserters from the S.S. Warren at the placers and had made them ride bareback sixty miles on their way back to a court martial.

On the last day of November, however, the editor of the *Glasgow Times* had to report that Missourians had seen the evidence with their own eyes. A small party had arrived in St. Joseph bringing with them large quantities of the Feather River gold dust, a portion of which had been assayed by a chemist of St. Joseph and pronounced pure gold. Specimens of the dust might be seen at the store of Smith & Bedford. And on December 21, the *Times* added the assurance of the president of the United States. It carried the message of President Polk in full: "The accounts of the abundance of gold in that territory are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief were they not corroborated by the authentic reports of officers in the public service, who have visited the mineral districts, and derived the facts from personal observation."

A week later the editor had to admit: "The country seems to be in complete ferment about the Gold of California. It is established beyond doubt that Gold exists, there, in great abundance, and that those on the ground are lining their pockets at the rate of ten to fifty dollars per day. This news has caused no little fluttering and anxiety on the part of many, who are talking about going to California."² On January 25, he carried in two columns on the front page Edwin Bryant's directions concerning the route to California and the outfit that one would have. Everybody, he said, should buy Bryant's book *What I Saw in California*. Later he called attention to Ware's *California Emigrants Guide* published in St. Louis.³

Cooper County soon went into action. In the *Weekly Democrat* of Boonville appeared this notice on February 23, 1849: "All persons in Cooper County, who design going to California in the spring with *mule teams* are requested to meet in the upper room of the Court House in the city of Boonville on Saturday, March 10, 1849, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

²Glasgow *Weekly Times*, December 28, 1848.

³*Ibid.*, February 22, 1849.

In April the parties got under way. A portion of the Howard emigrants well equipped, left Glasgow on the morning of April 12.⁴ Another section left on the morning of the 22nd to rendezvous with the others at Weston and perfect their organization.⁵ The *Glasgow Times* of April 19 reported, "The flood of emigration is still rolling to our frontier, in order to be ready to take an early start for the Eldorado of the world. Almost every boat that passes up is crowded, while the roads are filled with wagons. A gentleman from Hannibal remarked to us the other day, that at no time on the route from there here, was he out of the sight of a California wagon. The steam ferry at Hannibal could not cross them as fast as they arrived."

The Missourians in California were furiously beckoning, none more earnestly than Stephen Cooper. The *Glasgow Times* of May 3 carried a letter from Robert Semple, son-in-law of Stephen Cooper, to Captain Joseph Cooper of Howard County.

"Dear Sir: Maj. Cooper (my father-in-law) was about writing to you, but was forced to leave home on business and as the ship sails immediately, I hope you will receive this as from him. Our adopted California has become the most interesting part of the whole earth, on account of the discovery of the richest Gold mines and the most extensive ever known. I shall not have room to give you a description of the country. If I were to write one tenth of what is true, you would not believe it. It is enough that nearly the whole male population of Oregon are here gathering gold. Major Cooper wishes you to send your sons out immediately, with a cargo of Pork, which is worth here per barrel \$80, Lard \$50, Flour ranging from \$15 to 30 per barrel (being supplied from Oregon and Chili.) Blankets of all descriptions are worth from \$60 to \$200 a pair—Mackinack blankets, at whole sale, \$100 a pair. I would advise that you charter a ship at New Orleans, and load her principally with the articles above named, and such other goods as would suit the Fayette Market, and you cannot fail clearing at the least 100 per cent if not 300. Clear your ship for Benicia City, Bay of San Francisco.—Benicia City where Maj. Cooper now

⁴*Ibid.*, April 12, 1849.

⁵*Ibid.*, April 26, 1849.

resides, was purchased by Mr. Larkin, the former consul at Monterey, and myself, from Gen. Valliggo, and laid off little more than a year ago. It now contains 18 good houses and is rapidly improving; being the nearest Port for large ships to the gold mines, and the central part of the Territory. It must soon be an important point. Your brother, Major Cooper, came here last fall and built a house, 56 feet long, two stories high, for a Hotel. He has now added to it, making it 63 feet by 51, with a piazza, and I have no doubt but that he will find that much too small to answer his purposes before next fall. In this connection, let me say, if your sons will bring out two or three negroes who can work and attend at a Hotel, your brother will pay cash for them at a good profit and take it as a great favor. . . .

"Major Cooper, with his son Sarshel, and Mr. Nicholas Hanstacker are working together in the mines, and collected clear of expenses, in less than 4 weeks \$9,000 in pure fine gold, worth \$16 per ounce. He intends going out mining again in a few days. Major Cooper has paid for all his property here and the amount, accumulated by him since last fall, less than a year, is worth at the present time, more than \$12,000; which price he has been offered for it. A young man willing to work can get rich here in one year. Send out the working part of your friends. An old man unable to work goes to the wall fast, for his shoes, brogans, cost ten dollars; cotton shirts, linnen bosom, costing 60 cents in New York are worth \$10 a piece . . . So you see men must work to keep moving. Tell those who come by land, to bring good substantial wagons, good horses, and good *milch Cows*. Your brother's family are well.

"I cannot urge you too strongly to send your sons with a cargo as soon as possible, for now is the time of harvest. Your brother's family send their respects to their friends in Missouri.

R. Semple."

A letter that Lilburn W. Boggs, ex-governor of Missouri, wrote from California to his sons in Jackson County was published far and wide, and strengthened the resolution of many. The *Missouri Statesman* says, "He tells them that any

business they may be engaged at here is *unimportant*, compared with what they can do in California."⁶

The gold diggers of Brunswick, scheduled to leave on April 23, did not cross into Saline county until the 26th.⁷ This company of seven messes with eight wagons was captained by John W. Gilliam, a man of years and experience. It was to rendezvous at Independence with a Saline company under the leadership of Judge Gilmore Hays. The following are some of the familiar names in the Brunswick company: Shackelford, Williams, Leeper, Mullins, Ashby, Hutchinson, Price, McBride, McFerson, Walton, Rucker, Newbold, Riley, Perry, Kyle, Shepherd, Patterson.

One Howard County experience worth following is that of General John Wilson, a prominent lawyer of Fayette, in whose office Joe Davis had at one time read law. Appointed Indian Agent for Salt Lake and Naval Agent for the Port of San Francisco, he set out on May 29 with his wife (she was an aunt of Thomas Shackelford of Glasgow), two sons, and two daughters. First he would visit Fort Leavenworth, then Salt Lake where he would inquire into the Indian tribes, and thence to San Francisco, where he expected to arrive by October 1st.⁸ Following the fortunes of the Wilsons has all the excitement and suspense of a Wild West serial, and from this point on, I shall tell the story as it appeared in the newspapers and in letters of the Wilsons to their relatives in Glasgow and their friends in Fayette. From Glasgow to Fort Leavenworth they traveled on the S. S. *Algoma*, their baggage wagons and carriage going cross country.

A very different outfit was that of Sarshel Bynum, Lucian F. Harris, Reuben Basket, and nine others who left Glasgow on June 13. Mounted on mules, one to ride and one to pack for each member of the party, they expected to go through from Independence to San Francisco in 70 days. Traveling lightly, they expected to overtake the first Howard County party near the foot of the mountains.⁹

⁶Missouri Statesman, May 11, 1849.

⁷Glasgow Weekly Times, May 3, 1849.

⁸Ibid., May 31, 1849.

⁹Ibid., June 14, 1849.

A letter from Garland Maupin to his brother, dated Fort Laramie, June 12, reported that so far they had gone along nicely, but trouble was just beginning. The Fayette boys were seven days' travel beyond, Mr. Broadus' company one day in advance. Everything so far had been pleasant. They had met with plenty of buffalo, elk, and other game.¹⁰ Someone in General Wilson's party reported that they were 55 miles west of Fort Kearney. They had spent Fourth of July on Brady's Island in the Platte, and had celebrated by engaging in a big buffalo hunt. The ladies were standing the trip well. The general thought he might winter in Salt Lake City.¹¹

Another Stephen Cooper letter appeared in the *Glasgow Times* of August 30. Writing on April 23, he rhapsodized a bit: "Gold has been found in California in more abundance than the annals of History ever told of before!" The gold bearing area is "400 miles in length, and an average of 50 to 65 miles in breadth. . . . There is something grand and sublime in the contemplation of the future greatness of this country." He recommended mules for riding and packing so that emigrants could travel faster and be able to get off the road for grass and water.¹²

The next we hear of General Wilson he was at South Pass. The general, his wife, and his daughter had been sick, but were now well. Nearly everyone in the government train had been attacked by a combination of cholera and dysentery, but all had recovered. They had passed the graves of seventy cholera victims on the way, and lately the bodies of thirty dead oxen.¹³

Missouri companies who had started early and traveled light were already beginning to arrive in California. A Sacramento letter dated July 24 announced that the first company of packers had been there now for five or six days. Wagons were coming through Pleasant Valley one hundred miles away, and five or six thousand wagons were not far behind.¹⁴

¹⁰*Ibid.*, July 26, 1849.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Stephen Cooper, Benicia City, Upper California, April 23, 1849, to Colonel Jos. Cooper, Howard County, Mo.

¹³*Glasgow Weekly Times*, October 4, 1849.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

Many of the wagons, however, did not arrive. A correspondent to the St. Louis *Republican* wrote of the fearful destruction along the road. From Laramie on grass began to fail. After fifty miles west of that place, there were dead oxen and abandoned wagons galore. One thousand wagons had been burnt or otherwise destroyed. From Deer Creek to the summit there had been the greatest destruction. He had counted 500 dead oxen but only three dead mules.¹⁵ And the desert was still ahead.

Thomas Forsyth just in from Salt Lake on November 22 said that General Wilson and his family expected to leave Salt Lake for California in a few days.¹⁶ The same issue of the *Times* mentioned persons on the steamers *St. Joseph* and *Mustang*, which had passed down the river on the previous Tuesday. On board one was T. J. Boggs, brother of the ex-governor, Benjamin Tomkins, J. T. Powell, and G. W. Tracy of Boonville. Judge Applegate and son, and Col. Mark R. C. Pulliam of Keytesville were making active preparations to leave. "Hundreds are only waiting to hear from their friends, already there, to take up the line of march."

Along toward the end of November, bad news was coming in. About half the emigrants had arrived in California safely. Those with families were yet behind, and large parties were getting ready to go to their assistance. The veteran Stephen Cooper had organized a force of volunteers to start on the following Sunday. They were to take a "caballada" of horses and mules, be able to make forced marches and render assistance to those whose animals had given out and to those who had fallen back from their trains. A larger relief party under the direction of General Smith would take mule teams and wagons loaded with supplies of bread and meat. It was very probable that many of the emigrants would be halted by snow in the mountains. Depots of provisions would be established and great exertions would be made to bring the aged, sick, helpless women and children into the settlements. They would

¹⁵Glasgow *Weekly Times*, November 1, 1849.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, November 22, 1849.

do everything possible to prevent another catastrophe such as that of the Donner party in 1846.¹⁷

Those who had arrived safely were writing letters home. Fayette, Glasgow, Boonville homes were receiving letters from California and giving them to the local editors. John L. Morrison, writing from Weaver Creek to his father in Fayette, gave a fine report on the entire trip and news of a good many of the Howard boys. They had arrived at Dry Diggings on August 19 and at Sutter's Mill on the 20th. James Brown had been drowned in the North Platte in attempting to swim his mule across. Travel had not been bad until they struck the Humboldt. There they had had little grass, bad water, hot weather, hard marches, dust eight to ten inches deep, and more than half the time had had to water the cattle out of buckets because the river was so mirey. About half way through the desert they had lost 14 oxen out of 80 and had had to abandon the wagons. Just when they struck the Dry Diggings, Jno. Lowry found a piece of gold worth \$30. That encouraged them. They all started looking, but found no more. Young Morrison had worked three weeks and made \$260, but by the hardest work he had ever done in his life.¹⁸

John Crigler also went into detail on the miseries of the desert. He described the road along the Humboldt as a graveyard all the way. His company had had no grass for 200 miles and had kept the oxen alive on oak leaves. In the Sink of the Humboldt, a stretch of 65 miles without grass or water, he had seen men fall on the road and lie there until dark. He had heard from a company arriving later that there were increasing suffering and death among the emigrants.

"Father," wrote young Crigler, "never let anyone cross the Plains. Tell them they will see awful times—tell all the young men that are doing anything at home to remain there.—There is gold here, but it is very hard work to get it. It is not 'picking it up' as I heard when I was at home, and it is no country at all if it was not for the gold."¹⁹

¹⁷*Ibid.*, November 29, 1849.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, December 6, 1849.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

Joseph W. Pulliam, writing from Weber's Creek, seven miles south of Sutter's Mill, reported that most of the men of his company were making from \$10 to \$50 per day. Joseph himself had made \$450 in 18 days.²⁰

By late January of 1850 some were returning. Judge Hays of Saline and several others arrived on the *S. S. Anna*, bringing considerable quantities of dust with them.²¹ Abiel Leonard's brother wrote him from Cooper County that Wm. B. C. Clark, Lewis Hutchinson, and John Corum, who had gone out in the spring, had returned the day before. They had all been sick and done nothing in the way of getting gold. It had taken their outfit and what little they dug to pay their expenses. They represented the country as very sickly. But they said there was plenty of gold and if a man could have his health he could get gold a plenty. Mr. Clark had heard that Hogan was doing well trading with the Indians and mining. "One man from this county has come home and says he is going again in the spring. He thinks its the best way to come home in the winter and go again in the spring, better than staying all the winter in California doing nothing and spending your money."²²

The Glasgow *Times*, quoting a correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune*, reported that General Wilson and his family were said to be lost in the mountains. The party with which they started had separated from them, the escort coming by the southern pass and the general insisting upon taking the upper. The escort had been in some time, but no word had been received of the general.²³

About a month later, however, Abiel Leonard wrote his wife that Mr. Hayden's son Alexander, just returned, said that General Wilson and his family had arrived safely and that Micajah was working in the post-office. Mr. Hogan was in the mines working like a Turk; and Sarshell Bynum was a

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Glasgow *Weekly Times*, January 31, 1850.

²²Leonard Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri: N. Leonard, Cooper County, Home, February 19, 1850, to A. Leonard, Fayette, Mo.

²³Glasgow *Weekly Times*, January 31, 1850.

candidate for Circuit Judge.²⁴ The news brought by Clark and Hutchinson, reported N. Leonard to his brother Abiel, had rather dampened the ardour of the California boys, but the news and letters brought by young Hayden had revived them.²⁵

Lest your suspense be too great concerning the fate of the Wilson family, I must refer you to the February 28 issue of the *Glasgow Times*, where letters from the general and his lady reveal that they had reached San Francisco on December 9, seven months from the time they had set out from Fayette. The general skipped most details of their journey and gave a rosy-hued description of California possibilities, but his wife gave an account of what the general wanted to forget. We know from a later letter of General John Wilson that there had been a difference of opinion between him and his military escort—he said that he dismissed them. But in their place for safety's sake, he had had to take on fourteen others who depleted their stock of provisions to the danger point.²⁶ Mrs. Wilson told that three days before they reached the settlements Indians stole most of their mules and the rest died. An express, sent to the nearest settlement for mules, returned with six or seven, but announced that it would be impossible for the carriage to proceed any farther. It had to be abandoned. "So," wrote Mrs. Wilson, "we packed what few clothes we had in the carriage on one of the mules, and on the rest we mounted, on men's saddles, as far as we could; the first day we got out of the snow. Strange to tell, we that day passed over snow three feet deep on the mountains, and by the time we got down it had disappeared . . . but commenced raining, and we traveled all day in the rain, the mules often miring to the girths in the mud. That night—memorable night!—we sat up all night in our wet clothes, and next morning at daylight started. I said if life were spared me, I would reach the settlements. We had to walk all that day,

²⁴Leonard Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri: A. Leonard, Columbia, February 20, 1850, to his wife, Jeanette Leonard.

²⁵Leonard Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri: N. Leonard, Boonville, February 21, 1850 to A. Leonard.

²⁶Leonard Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Missouri: John Wilson, San Francisco, April 12, 1850, to Thomas Shackelford, Glasgow, Mo.

as several of the mules had mired and could not be gotten out." Mrs. Wilson does not advise any female to undertake the trip. She had been here three weeks and had not made the acquaintance of a single lady. She would not take the trip again for all the gold in California. Sarshell Bynum, she reported, had been appointed judge, and John Clark was doing better than any other of the Missouri boys, speculating in provisions.²⁷

The general, writing in a leisure moment a few months later, radiated optimism. "This is not only a great country but it is unexampled in everything. There is no parallel to liken it to and therefore it is in vain for me to attempt to describe what is here because I could not do it. Looking out of my door I see as I sit at my desk that the boys fly their Kites to double the height that they do in the States. . . . If you come at all, it is better and worse than you will or can expect to find it. Tell what I may—and what you must also remember—things that are today are very different tomorrow—a month is almost an age here as far as changes in things are concerned. So rapid are the transitions and mutations of society that even in a few days things are so altered you almost cease to remember how they looked or were."²⁸

To close the Wilson story, the general stayed in California and died there in 1877 at the advanced age of eighty-seven.²⁹ The climate had agreed with him.

The second year of the gold rush more or less repeated the pattern of 1849. That spring a notice to emigrants appeared in the *Glasgow Times* on March 21: "An adjourned meeting of the California immigrants will take place at the *Glasgow House*, on Saturday at 2 o'clock. It is requested and expected that all who design going to California from this section will attend, as matters of interest to them all will be discussed and arranged."

²⁷*Glasgow Weekly Times*, February 28, 1850.

²⁸*Leonard Manuscript Collection*, State Historical Society of Missouri: John Wilson, San Francisco, April 12, 1850, to Thomas Shackelford, Glasgow, Mo.

²⁹Frederic A. Culmer (ed.), "California Letter of John Wilson, 1850," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (January, 1930), pp. 200-201.

The same group or another met in an adjourned meeting at Fayette on March 30 and agreed to meet at Blue Springs, 20 miles from Independence, on April 25 to organize for the journey. They would cross the river at Glasgow, pass through Saline county, through Dover in Lafayette, and so on to the rendezvous.³⁰

Letters from the gold fields continued to inspire and depress. H. C. Levens, writing from Hangtown on January 28, 1850, reported that he was doing well. He had discovered a rich deposit of gold, was in good health, and expected to come home in a few months.³¹ Simion Switzler, also writing from Hangtown said: "Be in good spirits. California is certainly the place for men to get rich. All who try, preserving health, will certainly succeed." He and Tindell had made and were still making \$30 to \$80 per day. William Royall, Mr. Willis, Mr. Hitt's two sons were there, all well and doing well. William H. Stapleton, John Crigler, James Douglass, Robert Payne, Reuben Basket were living there, all in the same house, and all well. John Boggs, John Morrison, and Musler were messing together and all well. Nearly one-half of the population of Hangtown was from Missouri.³²

The other side of the picture may be represented by a letter from H. R. Menefee to his wife. He had averaged \$35 a day operating on Bear River, then had followed the popular drift of miners to Clear Creek and Trinity on the Upper Sacramento, and had done well there until stricken down with fever. All the McCullocks became sick too. The rainy season was on; on the way south, the wagons mired down twenty or thirty times a day. "The McCullocks," wrote Menefee, "were very kind and attentive to me all the time, frequently taking me on their backs, and carrying me over sloos and marshes one hundred yards wide. I cannot express to you my gratitude to those brothers." At the time of writing he had the scurvy and feared he also had the dropsy. "If California is not a humbug," he wrote, "I never heard of one. I take it not one in fifty

³⁰Glasgow *Weekly Times*, April 4, 1850.

³¹Boonville *Observer*, March 28, 1850.

³²Glasgow *Weekly Times*, May 23, 1850.

persons now in California, operating in the mines or any other honest business, but would give all they possess to be back in the States."³³

The ferry and two flat boats at Glasgow could not keep up with the steady procession of wagons toward the West.³⁴ Seventeen wagons of Howard boys, wrote James T. Birch from Fort Kearney, fifty-five men all told were on the way—Dr. Sanders, Cleveland, Shields, Collins, Miller, Long, Adams, Riley, Clark, Bozarth, Ward, Tolson, Lynch, Patrick, and many others. They had passed the Franklin Company, which had a three-weeks' start, and also the Glasgow Company. Ward and Birch, Riley and Co., Rains and Co., Withers and Co., Tolson and Co., and Adams and Co., would abandon their wagons and pack from Fort Kearney, so fearful were they of the scarcity of grass, and so anxious to be in the front train.³⁵ Well might they be fearful of the scarcity of feed. Two of the Roubidoux, coming from their post fifty miles to the east of Fort Laramie, had counted 9,200 wagons, with never less than four persons to the wagon, sometimes 5, 6, or 7.³⁶ By July 4, 37,171 men had passed Fort Laramie, 22,762 wagons, 22,742 horses, 7,472 mules, 30,616 oxen. Two hundred fifty-seven persons had died up to that point in that year.³⁷

The emigrants of 1849 had erred in trying to take too much household gear and provisions; those of 1850 in taking too little. There had been incredible suffering on the trail in 1849. In 1850 it was worse. Captain William Waldo, who headed relief expeditions in the fall of that year has left descriptions of what he saw.

"I have just returned to this post from a ten days' journey up Humboldt river, during which time I have witnessed almost every degree of human suffering. From half-starved women and children, toiling along on foot through the deep sands, to the poor sick man dying in the scorching sun, by the

³³Boonville Observer, April 4, 1850.

³⁴Glasgow Weekly Times, April 11, 1850.

³⁵Ibid., June 13, 1850.

³⁶Boonville Observer, July 18, 1850.

³⁷Ibid., September 12, 1850. An exchange from the Independence Messenger.

roadside, without an acquaintance or friend to give him a cup of water. . . . I have divided my own scanty allowance of provisions, for my backward journey, with some who were so weak that they would reel as they walked, who would weep like children, and thank me with as much heart-felt gratitude as the criminal who has been reprieved from an ignominious death. . . . There are yet on the road to California between one and two thousand persons, among them probably one hundred families, who are scattered along a distance of between three and five hundred miles from the settlements, without teams, provisions, and many without clothing. Three days ago the snow fell four inches deep on the mountains. Should the wet season set in by the 15th of October, the snow may fall five feet deep in the course of a day and a night, in which case I fear many must perish, as there is not a sufficiency of provisions on this side of the mountains to sustain five hundred people for twenty days. . . . Should the snow not fall before the first of November, I think all that are not killed by the Indians may be saved."³⁸

But the Howard boys were safe. They had traveled light and got there early. J. B. Taylor, writing from Sacramento on August 14, reported that the boys of Howard and Randolph suffered but little and that little caused by their generosity to others.³⁹

Sadness of departures, anxieties of the long trail, joyousness of home-comings. On November 2, 1850, arrived home Joseph H. Pulliam, James T. Birch, James H. and Josiah Tindell, James T. Morrison, Thomas M. Lewis, Reuben Basket, and Solomon C. Hutchison. "They all professed to have seen the elephant full size and to have no further curiosity about that animal."⁴⁰ William McNair probably summed up the sentiments of a good many Howard-Cooper boys, "There is a little place called Fayette, far more desirable to live in than any I have seen since I left the States."⁴¹

³⁸Boonville *Observer*, December 26, 1850. There is another Waldo letter, an exchange from the *Sacramento Transcript* of September 29, 1850, in the *Glasgow Weekly Times*, November 21, 1850.

³⁹*Glasgow Weekly Times*, October 10, 1850.

⁴⁰*St. Joseph Gazette*, November 20, 1850, exchange from *Glasgow Banner*.

⁴¹*Glasgow Weekly Times*, November 28, 1850.

Some of the Howard-Cooper boys died of cholera and are buried in unmarked graves along the way; some drowned at the crossing of the Platte; some died of fevers and dysentery in far-off California; some found enough gold dust to launch them in merchandising, milling, or farming when they got home. Some found the opportunity of a lifetime in California, became a part of the government in the new state—the solid substratum of Missouri that makes that state very homelike to a good many of us. Descendants of some of these Howard-Cooper boys are in this audience this evening. Well may they be proud of the self-reliance, courage, endurance, fortitude that are their heritage.

DANIEL BOONE'S SONS IN MISSOURI

BY JOHN K. HULSTON*

Early in 1781, Daniel Boone and his family removed five miles northwest of Boonesborough across the Kentucky River and located at a crossing of many buffalo trails on the bank of a stream where he built a pallisaded log house, known as Boone's Station or Fort Boone, known today as Cross Plains, Kentucky.¹ Here, Nathan Boone, youngest son of Daniel and Rebecca Boone, was born on March 2, 1781.²

In 1786, the Boones removed from Fort Boone to Limestone (now Maysville), "gateway to Kentucky for the crowds of immigrants who came by water," where Rebecca kept a tavern while Daniel hunted, trapped, traded, and surveyed up and down the river.³ During this period Daniel, being a surveyor, took up several thousand acres of land, but his ignorance of legal forms resulted in a failure to make the proper entry. Later he became a victim of ejectment suits extending over a thirteen-year period until he lost his lands. Forced out in 1788, Daniel Boone and his family⁴ removed to the conflu-

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¹Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1911), p. 180.

²Spraker, Ella Hazel (Atterbury), *The Boone Family; A Genealogical History of the Descendants of George and Mary Boone Who Came to America in 1717 . . .* (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Company, 1922), p. 126.

³Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 201.

⁴Spraker, *The Boone Family*, pp. 64-65. Also, *Hosman Statement*. Mary Boone, youngest child of Nathan and Olive Boone, was born January 22, 1822, at the Boone settlement in St. Charles County, Missouri. In 1837, she came with her father to settle on the Boone estate one mile north of Ash Grove in Greene County, Missouri. In 1841, she was married to Alfred Hosman, remaining at the old Boone place until she died in 1915. For fifty years her youngest son, Robert L. Hosman, heard the story of her grandfather, Daniel Boone; her father, Nathan Boone; and her illustrious uncles, Daniel Morgan and Jesse Bryan Boone. The writer acknowledges indebtedness to Mr. Hosman, reliable gentleman, and nearest living descendant of Daniel Boone, for much material hereinafter cited as *Hosman Statement*. For a sketch of the

ence of the Great Kanawha and Ohio Rivers, settling at Point Pleasant, Virginia (now West Virginia), where Daniel kept a small store and continued to hunt, survey, and farm.⁵

Later in 1788, Daniel Boone desired to see relatives and friends in Pennsylvania, so with his wife, Rebecca, and the seven-year-old Nathan, he traveled horseback to his old home in Berks County, where he spent a month with kinsfolk and friends.⁶

Daniel Morgan Boone, third son of Daniel and Rebecca,⁷ was physically like his father. He was below medium height, and had light hair, blue eyes, fair complexion, and a voice like a woman's.⁸ Morgan was an ideal surveyor's helper, a skillful trapper and hunter, and knew about saltmaking. Morgan Boone,⁹ in 1796, commenced a journey to the territory of Spanish Louisiana, proceeding to St. Louis to take land "under certificates of cession from Charles Dehault Delassus, the Spanish lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana, resident at St. Louis."¹⁰

He settled about twenty miles above St. Charles, where the Femme Osage empties its waters into the Missouri and, according to Houck, was the first American settler in the district.¹¹

life of "Aunt Mary" Boone Hosman, see the Ash Grove (Mo.) *Commonwealth*, June 24, 1915.

In addition to the sons of Daniel and Rebecca Boone, there were four daughters: Susannah Boone Hays, who came to the St. Charles County settlement where she died in 1800; Jemima Boone Callaway, who came to the St. Charles County settlement, removed to Warren County, where she died in 1829; Levina Boone Scholl, and Rebecca Boone Goe, neither of whom came to Missouri. Both died in Kentucky. (*Hosman Statement*; Spraker, *The Boone Family*, pp. 65, 115, 119, 121, 122.)

⁵Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, pp. 208-210.

⁶Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, pp. 211-212.

⁷Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 65. Two older sons had been killed by Indians: James Boone, the eldest son, was killed in October, 1773; Israel Boone, while fighting side by side with his father, was killed and scalped by the Shawnee tribe at the battle of Blue Licks in 1782.

⁸Spraker, *The Boone Family*, pp. 65, 123-124.

⁹*Hosman Statement*. Daniel Morgan Boone was known to his family as Morgan Boone; later as "Uncle Morgan."

¹⁰Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 220.

¹¹Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1908), II, 93-94.

News of the fertility of soil and of the abundance of game in the sparsely settled Missouri country found its way back to Point Pleasant. Young Nathan Boone was especially enthusiastic. Nathan possessed much of his father's temperament and zeal for adventure; therefore, it is not surprising that he greatly encouraged his sixty-five year old father in plans for removal to the new frontier settlement in the Missouri Valley above St. Louis.¹²

Jesse Bryan Boone, a young man of twenty-six, decided not to come to Missouri at this time. He was becoming well-established, but he later joined his father and brothers in Missouri.¹³

In the early days of September, 1799, Daniel Boone rode out of Point Pleasant, Virginia, at the head of an adventurous cavalcade.¹⁴ Young Nathan set out, torn between the love of adventure and love of his childhood sweetheart who remained behind, and after seventy-five miles of the journey concluded that it would be possible to have the adventure and the girl too. The obvious approach was to marry the girl and take her along, so he secured a license at Limestone and returned to Point Pleasant. On September 26, 1799, Nathan married Olive Van Bibber, daughter of Peter and Margery Bounds Van Bibber, whose cousin Chloe Van Bibber, daughter of James and Samoa Van Bibber, had married Jesse Bryan Boone.¹⁵ One authority has written that the sixteen-year-old bride was the prettiest girl north [south] of the Ohio River.¹⁶

Meanwhile, Daniel Boone while leading the party somewhere along the Ohio River proclaimed to frontiersmen that Virginia had become "too crowded"; that he was in pursuit of "more elbow room."¹⁷ Near the first of October, 1799, Daniel Boone and his party arrived at the Femme Osage and then

¹²Hosman Statement.

¹³Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 125.

¹⁴Houck, *A History of Missouri*, II, 93, note, indicated the trip was made overland with the stock. Cf. Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 221, where it is proposed that the stock was crowded into small boats.

¹⁵Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 126. Also, Hosman Statement.

¹⁶John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone* (New York: William Morrow & Company 1939), p. 360.

¹⁷Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 222.

went to St. Louis to obtain the land he had been promised. He was granted 1,000 arpents (845 acres) abutting Daniel Morgan Boone's land on the north.¹⁸ Here he is said to have built a small log cabin upon the newly acquired land.¹⁹

On October 1, Nathan and his sixteen-year-old bride commenced their journey. Two ponies, one pack horse, a rifle, axe, and a few blankets constituted their worldly goods. In making the trip they subsisted in part on wild game broiled over open flame and slept on the ground beside a camp fire. In less than a month these two youngsters passed through Lexington and Louisville. A crippled pony delayed them three weeks at Vincennes, so that it was the last week in November before they beheld the mecca of the Mississippi.²⁰ They crossed the river in a skiff and entered St. Louis. In St. Louis, Nathan was offered eighty acres of land in exchange for the ponies he and Olive had ridden from the far off Virginia "back country." He laughed and said that he would not give one of the ponies for the whole town.²¹

Making their way northward to St. Charles, they crossed the Missouri River, by placing their goods in a skiff. Nathan rowed and Olive steered and held the swimming horses by the bridle.²² About half way between St. Charles and La Charette, at the confluence of the Femme Osage and the Missouri River, Nathan and his bride entered the American settlement begun by Daniel Morgan Boone. Nathan began building a cabin of tree trunks and bark of cottonwood trees. At first they were forced to live on the spoils of the hunt. He was an experienced trapper and hunter; knew the rather crude art of boiling salt; could compose a rough survey; and possessed the knack of bargaining.²³ Nathan was highly resourceful, knew how to

¹⁸Houck, *A History of Missouri*, II, 93-94. Daniel Boone was made commandant of the Femme Osage District and being commandant under Spanish law, he did not come under the rules requiring cultivation of the land before title could be perfected. Also see Bakeless, *Daniel Boone*, p. 359.

¹⁹Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, p. 222.

²⁰William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (April, 1923), 341. Also, *Hosman Statement*.

²¹*Hosman Statement*. Also, Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 127.

²²Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 127.

²³William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (April, 1923), 341.

capitalize on natural advantages, and understood the rudiments of trade. In 1802 he and W. T. Lamme trapped 900 beaver and sold the pelts to hatters from Lexington, Kentucky, at \$2.50 each.²⁴

On March 2, 1800, Daniel Morgan Boone married the Virginia-born Sarah Griffin Lewis, daughter of John and Elizabeth Harvie Lewis, at St. Charles and brought her to the new settlement.²⁵

During the first decade of the nineteenth century Daniel Morgan and Nathan Boone made most of the early government surveys of the present St. Charles, Montgomery, Lincoln, and Warren Counties.²⁶

In 1806 or 1807 the two Boone brothers and three other men left the Femme Osage Creek settlement and came with their kettles to manufacture salt at what was afterwards known as "Boone's Lick."²⁷ At first they had a furnace of forty kettles producing from twenty-five to thirty bushels of salt a day and employed from six to eight men. The salt was boated down to the settlements and St. Louis and sold from \$2 to \$2.50 a bushel. Later they enlarged the furnace and built a new one, each having sixty kettles of increased size. They employed from sixteen to twenty men and produced 100 bushels of salt a day.²⁸

The trail or trace which the Boones followed from St. Charles to the salt springs in what is now Howard County became known as the Boone's Lick Trail and later, of course, was

²⁴Houck, *A History of Missouri*, II, 93, note.

²⁵Spraker, *The Boone Family*, pp. 123-124. "Being asked what religion they professed, the said Daniel Morgan Boone said he was a Presbyterian, and the said Sarah Griffin Lewis said that she professed the Protestant religion. Being asked if they would promise to bring the children born of this union to the church of the place near their future dwelling to be baptised, and send them to be instructed in religion, they answered, 'Yes.'"

²⁶Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 124.

²⁷William F. Switzler, *An Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis: C. R. Barns, 1879), p. 178. Switzler states that it is probable, but that the evidence is not conclusive, that old Daniel Boone may have discovered the salt springs on a hunting expedition.

Draper MSS., 6S, pp. 244-245. Draper's interview with Nathan Boone in 1851 states "Col. Daniel Boone never discovered Boone's Lick: It took its name from Daniel M. and Nathan Boone working it, and from the latter's early discovery of it."

²⁸*Draper MSS.*, 6S, pp. 244-245.

known as the Boone's Lick Road. No documentary evidence has been found to support the tradition that the road was surveyed by Nathan Boone.²⁹

In 1808, Brigadier-General William Clark led a detachment of troops to Fire Prairie in what is now western Missouri to establish Fort Osage and make a treaty with the Osage Indians. Nathan Boone acted as "pilot" or guide for this expedition.

The expedition arrived at Fire Prairie on September 4, where they commenced to erect Fort Osage. While the block-houses were being built, General Clark sent Captain Nathan Boone and Paul Loise, an interpreter, to the Osage villages to tell of his arrival at the "Big Eddy" and his intention to build a fort there and also to issue an invitation, or rather a summons, for the Osages to take up residence near the fort if they desired protection of the United States Government.³⁰ According to the Draper Notes of 1851, Nathan Boone was highly successful in the accomplishment of this mission in which he showed courage and initiative. Nathan returned with seventy-five Osages, including White Hair of the Big Osages and Walk-in-the-Rain of the Little Osages. A treaty was duly concluded.³¹

Prior to the outbreak of the War of 1812 in the West, a virtual state of hostilities existed between the white settlers and the Indians. As early as 1809, Major Daniel Morgan Boone was appointed by Governor Meriwether Lewis a member of a committee "to superintend the building of block-houses from the Mississippi to the Missouri." Early in 1812 Governor Howard issued orders calling out the St. Charles militia. On March 3, 1812, Nathan Boone's company of Mounted Rangers was mustered in. This force patrolled a triangular district "from Salt River on the Mississippi to Loutre on the Missouri . . . and helped the regulars . . . in erecting

²⁹Kate L. Gregg, "The Boonslick Road in St. Charles Country," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXVIII (October, 1933), pp. 13-14.

³⁰Gregg, Kate H., *Westward With Dragoons; The Journal of William Clark* . . . (Fulton, Mo.: The Ovid Bell Press, 1937), pp. 23, 33, 35-36, 38.

³¹Gregg, *Westward With Dragoons*, pp. 38-41; *Draper MSS.*, 6S, p. 290.

blockhouse forts."³² Following the formal declaration of war, the upper Mississippi border naturally became the scene of more open and violent Indian hostilities incited by British agents. This continued throughout the war and with but meagre protection from regular U. S. troops, the western country on both sides of the Mississippi would have been in a dangerously defenseless condition had it not been for the prompt and cooperative services of the local militia. In the militia, both Daniel Morgan and Nathan Boone were conspicuous and before the close of the war they held U. S. army commissions in the Missouri Rangers, Daniel Morgan being a captain and Nathan rising to the rank of major.³³

Following the close of the War of 1812, a tremendous number of settlers began pouring into Missouri, especially from Kentucky, Virginia, and other southern states. This wave of immigration also brought to Missouri in 1818,³⁴ Jesse Bryan Boone, eighth child and fourth son of Daniel and Rebecca (Bryan) Boone, who was born in Kentucky on May 23, 1773.³⁵

Jessie Bryan Boone had remained in Kentucky after the removal of Daniel Morgan Boone to Missouri and even after his father and brother, Daniel and Nathan, had settled on the Great Kanawha in Virginia (now West Virginia). While in Kentucky he bore the title of judge, probably having been a member of the County Court of Greenup County. In 1799, however, Jesse joined the Boone family and temporarily settled with his father and brother Nathan and took up an unimproved tract of land adjoining Nathan's. Here he was married to Chloe Van Bibber, a cousin of Olive Van Bibber, the future wife of Nathan Boone. As Daniel and his son Nathan were preparing to leave for Missouri, Jesse later sold his own tract

³²Kate L. Gregg, "The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXIII (October, 1938), pp. 7, 12-14.

³³F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the United States Army . . .* (Washington, D. C.: The National Tribune, 1890), p. 135. For a scholarly account of Missouri troops in the War of 1812 see Dr. Kate L. Gregg's three articles in the *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXIII (October, 1938, January and April, 1939), pp. 3-22, 184-202, 326-348.

³⁴*Draper MSS.*, 68, p. 212.

³⁵Spraker, *The Boone Family*, p. 125.

and settled on Nathan's place. For several years he was inspector of the salt works on the Little Sandy.³⁶

On arriving in Missouri in 1818, he settled in that part of St. Charles County which became Montgomery County in the same year. In the first state election held in August, 1820, he was elected a representative for Montgomery County. He served in the first session of the first state legislature, which convened in St. Louis on September 18, 1820. Just ten days after he had taken his seat, a joint and concurrent resolution of the Senate and House was adopted in memory of the death of his father, Daniel Boone, who died at the home of Nathan Boone in St. Charles County on September 26, 1820. The members resolved to wear crape on the left arm for twenty days.³⁷ By a law approved November 16, 1820, Jesse B. Boone was designated one of five commissioners to locate the permanent seat of government of the state.³⁸ Jesse Boone died in St. Louis, however, on December 22, 1820, and his brother, Daniel Morgan Boone, was designated to serve in his place by a supplementary act of the general assembly approved on June 28, 1821.³⁹

Colonel Daniel Boone, as has been said, died on September 26, 1820. His death occurred at the St. Charles County home of his son, Nathan, the large stone house in the Femme Osage district which is still standing today. His funeral was held at Charette at the home of his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Flanders Callaway. He was buried beside his wife near the present village of Marthasville in what is now Warren County.⁴⁰ In 1845, two representatives of the "Cemetery Society of Frankfort," Kentucky, came to Missouri and obtained permission from the Boone descendants to remove the remains of Daniel and Rebecca Boone, and place them in the cemetery at Frankfort, Kentucky. This was done, and

³⁶*Draper MSS.*, 68, p. 212.

³⁷*House Journal*, 1st General Assembly, 1st Session, 1820, pp. 4, 30-31.

³⁸*Laws of Missouri*, 1st General Assembly, 1st Session, 1820; pp. 15-16.

³⁹*Laws of Missouri*, 1st General Assembly, Special Session, 1821, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁰*Draper MSS.*, 68., pp. 278-280.

there the bodies of the pioneer and his wife rest today, their graves marked by a monument which was erected in 1880.⁴¹

Daniel Morgan Boone, the first of his family to settle in Missouri, lived on his St. Charles County grant until 1816, when he moved to Montgomery County.⁴² Within the next few years he moved across the Missouri River into what became Gasconade County. In the act of November 25, 1820, providing for the organization of Gasconade County, he was named one of five commissioners appointed for the erection of public buildings in the new county.⁴³ On January 15, 1821, at the first session of the county court of Gasconade County, he presented his commission as a justice of the county court.⁴⁴

Late in 1825 or early in 1826, Boone was appointed farmer for the Kansas (or Kaw) Indian Agency, which was established on the present site of Kansas City for the benefit of that tribe. He and his family moved to the Agency about 1826, and in the year following, when the establishment was moved into what is now eastern Kansas, to a site some eight miles above the present town of Lawrence, Boone and his family moved to the new Agency site. His son, Napoleon Boone, born at the Agency on August 22, 1828, is said to have been the first white child born in what is now the state of Kansas.⁴⁵ Daniel Morgan Boone returned to Missouri about 1833 and reestablished his home in Jackson County. Here he died on July 13, 1839.⁴⁶

Nathan Boone's first important public service after the War of 1812 was performed in the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820. In that body he was one of the three delegates from St. Charles County and one of the forty-one

⁴¹Floyd C. Shoemaker, (ed.), *Missouri Day By Day* (Columbia, Missouri: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942-43), II, 36-37.

⁴²William Smith Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1876), p. 7.

⁴³*Laws of Missouri*, 1st General Assembly, 1st Session, 1820, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁴*History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford, and Gasconade Counties, Missouri* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1888), pp. 623-624, 641.

⁴⁵*The History of Jackson County, Missouri . . .* (Kansas City, Missouri: Union Historical Company, 1881), p. 151; William Elsey Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1918), I, 210-211.

⁴⁶*Jefferson City Jeffersonian Republican*, August 3, 1839, quoting the *Missouri News*.

delegates in the convention who framed Missouri's first state constitution.⁴⁷

Boone's long and honorable career is ably presented in an article by Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman entitled "Nathan Boone, Trapper, Manufacturer, Surveyor, Militiaman, Legislator, Ranger and Dragoon," published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1941.⁴⁸ The following summary of Nathan's career after 1820 is largely based on Mrs. Foreman's excellent and fully documented study.

In 1832, Nathan was in Iowa engaged in surveying the southern boundary of the so-called "neutral ground" from the mouth of the Upper Iowa to Painted Rock, a project which he had to abandon because of the Indian menace. At this time Boone was a U. S. deputy surveyor.⁴⁹

In 1832, also, Boone, as a captain of the Mounted Rangers, was active in the Black Hawk War and was at the battle of Bad Axe when Black Hawk was defeated and captured.

With his company of Rangers, he was stationed at Camp Arbuckle near Fort Gibson (Indian Territory) during the winter of 1832-1833, and while there was employed to survey the boundary between the Creek and Cherokee Indian nations.

When a force of U. S. Dragoons was formed under the provisions of a congressional act of March, 1833, Nathan Boone became a captain of the First Regiment of Dragoons, to rank from August 15, 1833.

From 1833 until his resignation from the U. S. army in 1853, he was an active officer in the Dragoons. He was a captain in the First Regiment from August 15, 1833, to February 16, 1847, a major from February 16, 1847, until July 25, 1850, and a lieutenant colonel in the Second Regiment of Dragoons

⁴⁷Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood, 1804-1821* (Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1916), pp. 135n, 152f, 171, 196ff.

⁴⁸Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Nathan Boone, Trapper, Manufacturer, Surveyor, Militiaman, Legislator, Ranger, and Dragoon," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIX (December, 1941), 322-347.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 327; Alonzo Abernethy, "Iowa Under Territorial Governments and the Removal of the Indians," *Annals of Iowa*, Ser. III, VII (July, 1906), 436. (The author cites Boone's original field notes in the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.)

from July 25, 1850, until his resignation from the army on July 15, 1853.⁵⁰

In the fall of 1834, with his company he joined his regiment, the First Dragoons under command of Colonel Kearny, on an expedition into Iowa, where they established Fort Des Moines on the site of what is now Montrose. With his regiment he remained three years in Iowa and performed valuable service in patrolling the Iowa-Illinois-Wisconsin frontier and exploring much of the region. His contributions have been recognized by the bestowal of his name on a river and a county of the state.

At some time shortly after June 1, 1837, Boone was ordered to Fort Leavenworth with his company. From the time when he reported at Fort Leavenworth until his resignation from the army in 1853, he saw active service patrolling the western frontier from Fort Snelling in Minnesota to Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory, surveying roads and selecting sites for military posts, making reconnaissances beyond the frontier, and performing an unusual number of military functions of both major and minor importance. Much of his later military service was in connection with the Indians, traders, and army posts in the Indian Territory and on the southwestern frontier.

Boone had preempted a tract of land near the present Ash Grove in Greene County, Missouri, and in 1836 or 1837⁵¹ settled his family there. Because of his military duties, he was seldom at home, although no doubt he visited his family as often as his military activities would permit. It is known that in 1846 while he was stationed at Fort Gibson he was granted a six-months leave of absence. It is certain, too, that he was at home in 1851, for in that year he was visited by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, the Wisconsin historian, who had earlier submitted a list of questions to him bearing on his father's career and

⁵⁰F. B. Heltman, *Historical Register of the United States Army* . . . , p. 135.

⁵¹*History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, Missouri* . . . (St. Louis: National Historical Company, 1885), p. 230. According to this source, the Nathan Boone homestead in St. Charles County was sold in 1836 and Mrs. Boone moved from the place in that year. Mrs. Spraker says that Nathan Boone located with his family on the Ash Grove tract in 1837 (*The Boone Family*, p. 128).

that of himself and his brothers. Dr. Draper's account of his interview with Boone is now in the Draper Manuscript Collection in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.⁵²

Following his retirement from the army in 1853, Boone spent the three remaining years of his life at his Greene County home. He died there on October 16, 1856,⁵³ and is buried in the family cemetery on the farm.

⁵²*Missouri Historical Review*, XXXII (October, 1937), 88. A photostatic copy of the interview is in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

⁵³A brief notice of Nathan Boone's death appeared in the *Liberty Weekly Tribune* of November 7, 1856. In this account it is said that he died on October 17, 1856.

NICHOLAS HESSE, GERMAN VISITOR TO MISSOURI, 1835-1837

PART IV

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM G. BEK¹

CHAPTER XI

ENUMERATION OF THE AMOUNTS NECESSARY FOR THE PURCHASE, ESTABLISHMENT, AND MAINTENANCE OF A FARM

Many German immigrants, who intend to devote themselves to agriculture in the United States, have the fixed idea, that the purchase of the land was the main thing and that anything that concerned the establishment and maintenance of the farm was of secondary importance.

They have in mind the price of \$1.25 per acre for Congress land, and because they have read somewhere in books: "that here millions of acres of the best unused land still wait for purchase and cultivation," they often dream, long before they depart, about the future places, which they may choose at their discretion, and about equipment which they expect to find there.

They might indeed have been able to select nice pieces of land at the Congress price in the western states ten or twelve years ago, but nearly all better places are now already in the second and third hand, as I have mentioned before. Those excellent places, which one finds still unused, belong for the most part to adjoining farmers or land speculators, who live far away, or they may be school sections, which are not for sale as yet. Of course, there still exist millions of acres of virgin soil or rather forests and prairies, which one

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can buy at the Congress price. However, one must not look for them at the better places, but in the hilly regions, or in the less fertile prairies, containing neither water nor wood. One understands by soils of better quality, rich valley-bottoms, such as are not exposed to floods and are not too wet, or higher land with gentle slopes containing the papaw plants. Both kinds must have good springs. To the second class of land belong those bottoms, which are somewhat wet, and higher land, still having considerable tree growth and soil two or three feet deep, also the land between the side branches of smaller streams, which dry up in summer. One may, of course, still obtain smaller tracts of land, in this second class or in individual cases even in the first, but to find such land is only possible for the native American, who is thoroughly acquainted with all land and local conditions, but hardly for the immigrant. The native is not always inclined to give the required information, because he doesn't like to be hemmed in or have his farm territory limited.

The immigration of Americans from the eastern states into Missouri is at the present very large and is chiefly directed toward the extreme western border, to Jackson and Clay counties, in the immediate neighborhood of the Indians and toward the upper Osage. The German immigrant will not like it there at all, because the vicinity of the Indians and the separation from his German compatriots are never to his taste. Neither can he very well select the new state, Arkansas, for his abode, because there he may not find a neighbor at a distance of 16 or 20 miles. He may consider as an example the first Gieszener society which settled at Little Rock, but for the greater part has left this lonesome district and appeared later in Missouri and Illinois. The American, however, grown up in the woods, finds nothing new anywhere. He is accustomed to the clearing of forests and living alone, to leave his place again and again and choose another. He is always on the move, and is able, for that reason, to select the best places for a settlement. He doesn't shun a trip of several hundred miles to obtain, in advance, exact knowledge of the land, while the immigrant cannot indulge in such extensive advance investigations

and cannot become so well acquainted with the peculiarities of the land in general. It is obvious that one is unable to obtain an exact knowledge of the land by trips on steamers on the rivers, or on the highways usually leading over rough hill crests. Hence the German immigrant will always do best by buying an already established farm or "improvements." He has then the advantage of selection, as I mentioned above, and doesn't need to overexert his strength. One must, however, not omit the following precautionary measures:

- a. that the seller provides the deed.
- b. that the wife signs the contract also.
- c. that grown-up children acknowledge it.

If one, in spite of everything, wants to settle on virgin congressional soil, one has to take the following facts into consideration:

1. The smallest amount which one can buy is 40 acres. The American acre contains 43,500 square feet. The foot is about the same as the rhinelandic foot. Hence the acre equals about two Prussian "morgens." With such 40 acres or about 80 Prussian acres, a family has sufficient land, for the considerations, which one has to take in Germany in regard to pasture and wood for fuel, do not exist here. However, it would be very disagreeable for anyone, if a good piece of land, situated in his immediate vicinity, was bought by somebody else, even if it belonged only to the second class group, because he might later not have any opportunity to sell his property, as is frequently the case, or get away from the farms of others surrounding him on all sides. In purchasing a farm, one has, therefore, to see to it that, above all, at least one side remains without a neighbor, and whoever has the means should try to get 80 acres.

- a. The cost at \$1.25 equals..... \$100.00
- b. Each acre, which is destined for the plow must be cleared previously and fenced in. This is, as I have mentioned, hard work and

must be valued at least at \$8.00 per acre, no matter if the work is done by yourself or somebody else. In the former case the German cannot clear and fence an acre at less than \$10.00 if he figures prevailing wages. A family of 10 to 15 persons can get along with 15 acres of land. The cost, therefore, would be..... \$120.00

- c. The equipment of sufficient dwellings, stables, smoke-house, milk-house and chicken-houses requires about..... \$80.00

The total for these three items equals..... \$300.00

In the western states, in regions which have been settled only 5 to 10 years, one can buy very well-situated farms of 80 acres, of which 15 to 20 acres are cultivated and have fine spring water, for about \$300.00 to \$600.00, depending on their belonging to the first or second class of land. Thereby one has the mentioned advantage of selecting the district and doesn't need to undergo the extremely difficult labor of clearing the forest, which is exhausting after a long journey on sea and land. All of which is especially difficult for the new immigrant. The above is, of course, subject to modification for those who intend to buy larger possessions. The value of farms and land estates rises in the vicinity of small or large cities in the same proportion as the towns increase in trade, or show the prospect of such increase. This condition can also be assumed to exist in a densely populated district. One doesn't need to look for Congressional land close to important cities or in places where the rise of a newly-founded town is only a probability.

2. Whoever settles on Congressional land or even buys a farm already under cultivation requires for a family of 8 to 10 persons in the first year.

a. corn for bread and winterfeed for livestock.....	\$80.00
b. wheat.....	\$10.00
c. pork, which is the chief food—at least.....	\$50.00
d. of the poorest grade of West Indian coffee, one requires twice as much as in Germany, and five pounds cost \$1.00. Such a family needs then 72 lbs. For it and sugar, salt, etc..	\$20.00
e. for oil, fat, spices, etc.....	\$10.00
f. for other necessary household goods, vegetables, potatoes, dishes, etc.....	\$30.00
Total.....	\$200.00
3. for the purchase of the necessary livestock are needed:	
a. for two horses at \$50.00 each.....	\$100.00
b. for two oxen, if good ones.....	\$45.00
c. for three cows with calves each at least \$15.00.....	\$45.00
d. for four to five sows with litters...	\$25.00
e. for four sheep at \$2.50.....	\$10.00
f. for ten geese at \$0.50.....	\$5.00
g. for three dozen chickens.....	\$5.00
Total.....	\$230.00

It is not advisable to invest in a smaller amount of livestock, otherwise one will not be able to sell any within the first five years, and the farmer must cover the cost of his other living necessities by money obtained by such sales. Many settlers who were unable to procure a reasonable amount of livestock, and hence had not the means to procure money from any article, live a very sad existence. I am acquainted with several such cases, but will not be so indiscreet as to mention them here.

4. For implements and other necessary objects, are needed:

a. for a wagon, at least.....	\$60.00
b. for a sled.....	\$2.00
c. for a breaking plow and a small plow.....	\$12.00
d. for a wooden harrow.....	\$3.00
e. for a harness for horses, and chains.....	\$10.00
f. for a harness for oxen.....	\$3.00
g. for a large log chain.....	\$6.00
h. for a saddle and two bridles.....	\$12.00
i. for two axes, saws, etc.....	\$12.00
Total.....	<u>\$120.00</u>

5. For at least one table, six chairs,
two benches, bed frames and other
necessary household furniture.... \$30.00

6. As the immigrant has only expenditures and no income the first three years, it is obvious that the items in No. 2 under c. d. e. f. mentioned necessities have to be considered for two more years and as they amount to at least \$60.00 a year, require \$120.00 for two years.

According to this detailed account, as specified from 1 to 6 at least \$1000.00 besides traveling expenses are necessary to procure for an average family in North America a fair existence—and that under the most favorable assumption that the purchase of a farm already under cultivation could be arranged for at \$300.00.

7. The traveling expenses on land and sea up to the place of settlement may be estimated for a family of eight persons in the following way:

a. journey to Bremen, average of larger or smaller distance.....	40 Reichsthaler.
b. living cost in Bremen for a few days.....	10 Reichsthaler.

c. tickets for middle deck at 40 Rthl. for each person above 12 and 30 Rthl. on the average for each below that age.....	314 Reichsthaler.
d. living cost in Baltimore or New York.....	10 Reichsthaler.
e. journey to Philadelphia.....	25 Reichsthaler.
f. journey on train and boat to Pittsburgh.....	60 Reichsthaler.
f. journey on a steamer to St. Louis.....	90 Reichsthaler.
h. living cost in St. Louis and traveling cost of a trip of investigation.....	30 Reichsthaler.
i. further expenses to the place of settlement.....	40 Reichsthaler.

619 Reichsthaler.

In addition to this the aforementioned \$1000.00 equals.... 1458 Reichsthaler.

2077 Reichsthaler.

Whoever travels by way of New Orleans, can perhaps save 77 Rthl., but not more, because then the expenses at sea are higher than mentioned and, he faces the disadvantage of stormy weather on the sea in spring and fall.

A family that was previously engaged in agriculture and intends to farm again, should not dare to go to North America with a smaller sum than that. One will find that my estimate is based on real facts and that I am considering only a family, which is accustomed to restrictions of all kinds and is willing to travel third class on the ships. He, who intends to travel more stylishly and doesn't want to subject himself to the above-mentioned restrictions, has to make different calculations. The above estimate is, of course, subject to modification in the case of smaller families. However, in both cases, one can easily figure in accordance with the indicated scale and can himself answer any other questions. It hardly needs

to be mentioned but it is rather obvious, that the immigrant should provide himself and his family with the necessary clothing and shoes for the first three years, as they are very expensive in America. I will here mention only the average prices:

- a. A coat of cloth.....\$25.00
The charge of the tailor
alone.....\$ 6.00
- b. A pair of trousers.....\$10.00
- c. Rough shoes, a pair.....\$ 1.50 to \$2.00
- d. Short boots, a pair.....\$ 5.00

There also occur many extra expenses on trips in the country. Sickneses, which as a rule visit each family more or less in the first years, may require considerable sums, so that each immigrant has to take that also into careful calculation and provide a fund for that purpose. Otherwise he must expect to be placed in an embarrassing situation, especially in a country where cold calculating speculation doesn't seem to know human pity.

CHAPTER XII

LABOR SUPPLY, SLAVEHOLDERS AND SLAVERY IN GENERAL

I would like to repeat here emphatically the warning contained in several travel accounts: "One should never and under no condition take German laborers to America with the idea of letting them work out for one the cost of their transportation." The reason, which is mentioned in connection with this warning, seemed to me applicable only under certain conditions and does not apply to all persons. I believed, rather, that the intimate acquaintance with a person and a kind treatment would be sufficient to awaken and maintain in them a degree of loyalty. But the human egoism always tries to invent exceptions, which then only fit his individual case. But soon his own sad experience will make him recognize his error and make him finally acknowledge the truth of the manifold proofs, which others had collected before him.

The presumptions and claims of the working class coming from Germany increase in America in the same proportion as these people meet the allurements fostered by irresponsible people who entertain false ideas of freedom and equality. Such German workers very rarely know how to appreciate such good treatment, which one extends to them in the spirit of equality, and with their weakness and insufficient education they consider any yielding to be a result of their indispensableness. Where such compliance degenerates into weakness, master and servant reverse their respective relationship. This is the worst type of slavery in which the German immigrant can become involved. It is an excellent cure for all those who do not want to obey the existing laws in Germany or would gladly like to change the prevailing social order. Here they will receive their orders from an inferior instead of a superior class.

Exceptions from this norm are few. It is true that I cannot join such a lamentation on the basis of personal experience. The people, who traveled with me, showed the greatest sympathy and attachment, even at my departure from St. Louis, and if one or the other of them had given cause for displeasure during the time they were with me, that was only temporary and hardly worth being mentioned. Everybody has his weak points; why should one then expect only angels among the servant class? My older brother came with me and performed all necessary labor, as if it was in his interest alone. However, I know too many cases in my immediate neighborhood and elsewhere in Missouri and Illinois, which justify my statement and the statement of so many who preceded me.

It is, therefore, very likely preferable, to engage, for the pressing work, the help of better educated and industrious American farm hands. One can obtain such help nearly everywhere at a cost of \$.50 per day plus board. Wages per month amount to \$10.00 to \$12.00 besides board, and here one has the advantage that the American does twice as much work as the immigrant German, being acquainted with the peculiarities of the work in fields and woods, which the latter has to learn.

The yearly ages for a farmhand—not servant—are \$120.00, and for a female worker—not a maid—\$50.00 and, in addition, of course, free board. The new farmer can, however, not afford to pay such high wages and earn his other necessities from his products in the first five years, even if his farm is a large one and his herd of livestock well selected and complete.

As is well known, Missouri is one of the slave states. The legislature of this state whose members are mostly slave owners themselves, and hence opposed to the abolishment of slavery, influenced by human egotism, at the beginning of 1836, passed a law which stated: "Any citizen, who directly or indirectly, by word or writing, incites the negroes to obtain their freedom or tries to remove them from their present situation, shall himself be sentenced to slavery from 3 months to one year." The cause of this peculiar law was very likely to be found in the fact, that so much was written in the newspapers about the abolition of slavery and treated with a thoroughness, that one could not oppose it with any good reason. The lawmakers in Missouri seem, therefore, to have resolved to quiet editors and abolitionists with a harsh act. The future only can tell, if they achieve their end.

Most farmers who have migrated into Missouri from the old slave states own male and female negro slaves, often several families with many children, which are and remain slaves on account of their birth, and whose children will for all time have to share the fate of their forebears. Slaves are not treated harshly in Missouri. That is, they are not driven in herds and regulated by the whip like a herd of pigs, as is the case in Louisiana and other states where plantations and tobacco production are operated on a large scale. On the contrary, they live as well as the owner and have no worry about their daily bread. It is indeed in the real interest of the owner to treat his slaves well, for an able male slave has a value of \$1000.00 to \$1200.00 and the woman a value of \$500.00 to \$600.00. It is a serious matter to lose a slave. Those who uphold slavery maintain: "If I do not own this or that slave, then another one does, who perhaps treats him worse. A slave he is and will be in any case."

This miserable sophism, worthy of an Hippias, is only put forth by the human greed, to allay the pangs of conscience. Human slavery, no matter whether black or white, is and remains forever an injustice crying to heaven, which sooner or later will be avenged on its originators and participants, as there exists a rewarding and punishing Providence, which surely will not judge the value or non-value of its rational creations by the color of their skin. Everyone, who limits the inborn freedom of men by keeping slaves, is a participant in this sin. One has to visit the slave markets, in order to perceive how horribly man treats his brothers, how the slave to be sold is examined in all his joints and driven to walk, trot, and run, just like a horse in horse-trading, how this object of commerce is judged and sold, and finally how frequently the wife is sold away from the husband and the child from his parents, not to see each other again during their whole lifetime. Even the irrational animal loves his young and no one prevents it, but the unhappy negro—a human being like the white man and just as receptive of education and instruction, for which proof is given by the negroes of St. Domingo—is not permitted to give vent to the most natural feelings of the human heart. The negroes are the outcasts of the west in whose society the natives, meaning the free Americans, may not even take their meals. Even the free negro is not permitted to give his children a free education, as is proven by the infamous, ignominious law in North Carolina. One can see that the free Americans are often abominable tyrants.

It is not a rare occasion, that at the death of a slaveholder, the families of slaves are divided among the heirs. Again women are torn from their husbands and children from their parents and scattered in all parts of the globe. If the owner of such slaves incurs financial difficulties, then he doesn't hesitate to sell some of the children from their parents, and even if he himself was the father of the child, which is not infrequently the case. Yes, negro children are even traded and exchanged for horses, as happened recently in my neighborhood.

Indeed, everything has its two sides, however, a simple moral axiom can hardly be erased by artificial devices, and an

obvious sin against humanity will hardly ever appear as something permissible to the unprejudiced to whom religion and conscience are holy.

The question: "Can people, in justice, be bought and sold like material things?" is simply answered by the teachings of the divine Creator of our religion; "Do not do to others, what you would not have done to yourself." I believe it unnecessary to add anything to this topic, except that the first commandment of the North American, which, of course, precedes the ten Commandments, reads: "Make money." It even forced the new President Van Buren to silence in regard to the slavery question, in order not to provoke a too early breach between southern slave-states and northern non-slave states, which with justice oppose it at any occasion.

But the work of man, built on such an immoral foundation, can not endure.

CHAPTER XIII

COMMERCE AND TRADE

SPECULATION OF THE IMMIGRANTS IN WARES

The immigrant German who intends to run a business either wholesale or retail or open a restaurant, must be acquainted with the character of his American fellow-citizen, with the best sources of his supplies and especially with the English language, at least so far as being able to converse in it about commercial topics and daily occurrences. He must have a certain amount of cash, its size depending upon the extent of his transactions. He must even be able to allow some credit. In the large cities one can find stores of all types of the most exquisite elegance and expensiveness. The stores on Broadway in New York and those in Philadelphia and Baltimore can easily compare with those of London, which I have seen on my return trip. Articles of gold, silver, and fancy-wares, cloth and cotton goods, silk and articles of luxury of every type, musical instruments and accessories, hats, boots, and shoes, perhaps 20,000 in one place, are found in great selections and wonderful

order in the great department stores, which are illuminated by gas in the evening and the lights appear multiplied in number by large mirrors placed everywhere.

The merchants of the small towns receive their articles of luxury from those important trade centers, and the continuous trips of the merchants from the west to the east and back, give proof of the traffic in the American commercial world. The trading places in the smaller places and in the country, called stores everywhere, have to contain the most diversified articles in a confused arrangement, spirits of all types, brandy, wine, cigars, tin and iron wares, oranges and chewing tobacco, boots, shoes, crockery, mirrors, chinaware, soap, nails, coffee, sugar, salt and cow-bells, cloth, calico, and cotton wares, door locks and lead pencils, etc., none of them should be lacking in a country store. The grocery stores in the cities carry on the sale of brandies and wines, beer, soda-water, candles, coffee, sugar, spices and other food articles. They are subject to considerable taxation, often close to \$100.00 per year, and yet one finds such groceries, wine and liquor houses in considerable numbers in larger and smaller towns. Boarding houses are for boarders and travelers, while the term, tavern and "jee," is only applied to the inns on the highways.

All business concerns without exception are marked with large and often elegant signboards, often with advertising remarks; for example, Cheapstore, Cashstore (where goods are sold only for cash), Celebrated Iron Store. The mountebank has often the inscription on his signboard; "no cure, no pay" (he who isn't healed, doesn't have to pay). The portrait painter advertises: "no likeness, no pay," e.g., nothing needs to be paid for, if the likeness is not perfect. These shrewd fellows, however, understand human vanity quite correctly. People like to be flattered and so the artist will never paint an ugly person in a hideous manner. The American city is very varied and agreeable to the eye, only one must often wonder how all the many businesses can find subsistence, for scarcely any house is without a signboard. This astonishment will, however, often disappear when one becomes better acquainted with the circumstances. Many business houses fail, seek the

protection of the law of bankruptcy, place the hand on the Bible, and wander either to other places to start a business there or settle in the forests to try farming. Others simply put the key in the keyhole, depart secretly and leave their wares in small or large amounts to the disposition of their creditors. The farmer frequently takes their place, when chopping of wood or driving of oxen doesn't suit him any longer. I know many, who have had three or more such businesses, and even craftsmen with good employment, often erect a store or grocery, if the former trade doesn't please them any longer. The proverb: "Cobbler stay with your last" has no meaning in North America. Its place has been filled by: "I want to make money."

The house rents in the most important trade centers and especially in St. Louis on the Mississippi, which develops rapidly, have risen to extraordinary heights. One has to pay in rent \$600 to \$1500 per year for any store situated fairly well on Main Street of this city. Such a store usually consists only of a long room with shelves for wares and contains no dwelling quarters, so the renter has to rent a home in addition. For a dwelling, which was rented on my arrival in the summer of 1835 for only \$330, \$800 would have to be paid at the present, and so the rents are raised each year by the owner, as soon as he notices, that the merchant does good business in his place. The leaseholder very likely cannot leave the place, if he is actuated by sound business judgment. The lessor, however, is in the real sense of the word his tax assessor, who can always look in his cards, due to the fact that the American merchant in order to obtain credit has to make more noise than he otherwise should. He thus can and will impose on himself the most oppressive indirect taxation.

House rents and lots are less expensive in the foremost trading centers of the east than in St. Louis. In order to get an idea what price the land for lots has reached, I will only mention that at the last sale of such lots of 100 feet length on Second Street, the front foot sold at \$500.00.

Speculation is now extraordinarily active in St. Louis. This place, where the most important rivers—Missouri, Illi-

nois, Mississippi, Ohio with their tributaries — and the railroads through Illinois, that are now being built, come together, must, according to all human calculations, become and remain the most important trading center of the west. However, there is still the possibility that the plan to found an important city, New Philadelphia, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, might become a reality, and thus bring to naught some of these assumptions.

The founding of new cities is a main object of speculation. Boastful advertisements about new cities to be founded can be read everywhere. The words "Beautiful View and Situation, Suitable with Accommodation for all Kinds of First Rate Business and Well-Settled Neighborhood, etc." do not fail to appear in any such proclamation. The American is very skillful in the use of such words. If the new town is situated on a river, navigable by steamboats, and has a well-settled neighborhood, then a quick development is doubtless assured. The first steamboat sailed up the Osage river in the spring of 1837 and by that fact alone, the purpose of arousing speculative interest in this locality was accomplished. Soon the proclamation of the founding of several towns followed. The speculators themselves fit out and prepare the steamboat and shun no expenses, knowing very well, that they will be repaid hundredfold in the future and will be repaid in spite of the howling of other speculators and their followers, who frequently lead the immigrants astray by trying to lower the estimate of the value of a given district, which they themselves have never seen. One has to play safe against the latter class especially in St. Louis. Even some Germans there, and in New York and Baltimore, who have never been further into the interior of the surrounding states, try to impress upon you their advice and praise or disparage regions, which are completely unknown to them. Therefore, self-observation is the most necessary condition.

The speculators, who are acquainted with the prevailing conditions and peculiarities of the country, rarely miss their mark. They often buy town lots at low prices (\$25 to \$100) and gain on them in one year 100 to 500 per cent. Others, however, miss their guess and often lose considerable sums. A first

class town lot in the capital, Jefferson, was offered to me at \$500 in the summer of 1835, which could not be bought for less than \$2000 in the spring of 1837, when this town definitely was decreed to be the capital of the state. In the same way the new town of Lisletown was parcelled out in my neighborhood on the Osage river in the fall of 1835. First class lots at the outset were valued at \$25.00. In the spring of 1837 they were \$150.00. On the other hand, the town of Mount Sterling on the Gasconade river will not flourish. The speculators must necessarily suffer losses here as well as in Vandalia, which was the capital of Illinois up till now, but will be succeeded soon by a capital, situated more in the middle of that state. It must, moreover, be a very lucrative business, which, especially in St. Louis and similar towns, can produce the high house rents, the high cost of living and the high wages and still provide some clear profit. Yet many a man, who has the necessary business and language abilities and has some luck, makes a fortune, while others cannot maintain themselves in such daring enterprises in spite of all their knowledge, care and activity or can earn only a scanty subsistence.

In smaller towns and in the country the house rent and the cost of living are low. Many storekeepers here succeed well and frequently better than in the larger cities, only they must be able to allow credit and must be acquainted with the customs and manners of the rural population. They must accept rural produce such as wool, honey, wax, butter, cheese, eggs, bacon and animal hides for cash and must know, in addition to the English language, where and to what price they can sell these articles of exchange quickly and advantageously.

The craftsman, whose trade is of a practical nature, can earn his living in the cities as well as in the country. The present crisis of the American commercial world, in which so many very able craftsmen are without work, and which perhaps will only subside within years, cannot be considered as the general rule—yet the immigrant, however well he may know his trade, cannot assume to be able to start as an independent master in any city of his choice. Like the merchant, the craftsman must have a rather exact knowledge of the peculiarities of the

country and of the trade in question. He must have sufficient cash on hand and be acquainted with the English language. Not every trade finds appropriate compensation in the U. S. for that recognition which so many in Europe expect. Which kinds of trades are especially preferred here and as a rule are assured of good compensation, and where and how they are to be found, shall be explained in detail in one of the following chapters.

Many immigrants, hoping for profitable returns, bring clocks, pipes, linen, cloth, silk wares and such articles along. The newcomer should, however, not burden himself with such things, for he has a much greater interest in reaching the destination of his journey, and is not acquainted with those regions, where he could dispose of those articles immediately and at a profit. Besides he has to compete with the keen speculating American merchant, who a long time ago has recognized the best and cheapest sources, from which one can obtain such wares. In the western states and in the country little cash money is in circulation; hence he can rarely dispose of such objects for ready cash there. In the more important cities are daily auctions at which one can buy such articles often even cheaper than in Germany. I am acquainted with several German families in Missouri, who for years had on sale whole collections of beautiful clocks, pipes, silk ware, linen, etc. and have not yet found any buyers. A false idea about the commercial condition of a country was at the bottom of such speculation. One should never be misled by the few who were lucky in taking such risks. An unfortunate speculation is especially that with Forte-Pianos. These instruments which are manufactured in all important cities of the east and the interior, in extraordinary beauty, are also subject to the prevailing styles of furniture, wherefore one can often buy very good instruments, that are no longer in style, at cheaper prices than in Germany. Besides the lumber used in Germany is subject to further shrinking in the warmer regions of N. A. Even wood that is quite dry over there is not secure against such disagreeable climatic influences. This statement is based on personal experience and the observa-

tions of others. It was a mistake to advertise that in St. Louis a Forte-Piano could be sold at \$200 to \$300. Such exaggerations are only suited to confuse the immigrant and load him with articles which are subject to deterioration.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

THE MISSOURI READER
THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY

PART VIII

EDITED BY DOROTHY PENN¹

Trades and Professions
Barter

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

Among the French in the valley "There was but little variety in their employments. The most enterprising and wealthy were traders, and had at the same time trifling assortments of merchandise for the accommodation of the inhabitants, but there were no open shops or stores, as in the United States. There were no tailors or shoemakers; such as pursue these occupations at present, are from the United States. The few mechanics, exercising their trades, principally carpenters and smiths, scarcely deserved the name. The lead mines I have already observed, engaged a considerable number. The government gave employment to but few, and those principally at St. Louis. By far the greater proportion of the population was engaged in agriculture; in fact, it was the business of all, since the surplus produce of the country was too inconsiderable to be depended upon. A number of the young men for some time, embraced the employment of boatmen, which was by no means considered degrading; on the contrary, it was desirable for a young man to have it to say, that he had made a voyage in

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this capacity: and they appeared proud of the occupation, in which they certainly are not surpassed by any people in dexterity. It is highly pleasing to see them exerting themselves, and giving encouragement to each other, by their cheering songs . . ."² "which were generally responsive betwixt the oarsmen at the bow and those at the stern; sometimes the steersman sung, and was chorused by the men."³

"They are active, sprightly, and remarkably expert in their vocation. With all the vivacity of the French character, they have little of the intemperance and brutal coarseness usually found among boatmen and mariners. They are patient of fatigue, and endure an astonishing degree of toil and exposure to weather. Accustomed to live in the open air, they pass through every extreme, and all the sudden vicissitudes of climate, with little apparent inconvenience. Their boats are managed with expertness, and even grace, and their toil enlivened by the song. As hunters, they have roved over the whole of the wide plain of the west, to the Rocky Mountains, sharing the hospitality of the Indian, abiding for long periods, and even permanently, with the tribes, and sometimes seeking their alliance by marriage. As boatmen, they navigate the birch canoe to the sources of the longest rivers, and pass from one river to another, by laboriously carrying the packages of merchandise, and the boat itself, across mountains, or through swamps or woods, so that no obstacle stops their progress. Like the Indian, they can live on game, without condiment or bread; like him they sleep in the open air, or plunge into the water at any season, without injury."⁴ "The number of the boatmen is usually designated by the weight of the cargo; one is required to every three thousand pounds."⁵

²Henri Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River, in 1811*. (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, 1814), p. 136.

³John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811*, (2nd ed.; London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1810), p. 20.

⁴James Hall, *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, in the West*. (Philadelphia: Harrison Hall, 1835), I, 181.

⁵Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*. (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1812), p. 303-304.

Among the villagers, "The wealthier and more enterprising *habitants* were traders, often with peculiar and exclusive privileges; and they kept a heterogeneous stock of goods in the largest room of their dwelling-houses, by way of being merchants."⁶ A "List of articles of exchange fitted for the commerce of the western states, of upper and lower Louisiana, and the fur trade with the Indians" prepared by Collot, after his travels in the late 1790's, shows the goods which might most often be requested in the frontier settlement stores: wines; arms; dry-goods, such as blankets, gingham, cottons, woolen carpets, thread and worsted stockings, muslins, taffetas, tape, thread, satin, velvet, gloves, oiled clothes, straw hats; cutlery; fashionable dresses, shoes; cheap clocks; watches, silver tea-spoons and tea equipage; common china, looking glasses, jewellery; for the fur trade especially are listed: carabines, powder-horns, shells, drinking cups, brass wires, horse-bells, copper rings and ear-rings; box-combs, awls and steels, gun-flints, black silk and blue cotton handkerchiefs; large Indian three-cornered cover-lids; copper saucepans, pick-axes, hatchets, and large nails, tomahawks, spears, short sabres, large and small scalping knives, with sheaths, vermilion, silver and metal medals. Commenting on the last-named article, Collot says: "These medals serve as presents for the chiefs. It ought to be observed, that they should have only one figure upon them; for when an Indian sees more, he will not accept the medal: *I have but one heart*, he tells you, *I cannot love more than one person!*"⁷

"The nature of these early stores is revealed by an account-book of 1799 and 1800, beautifully bound in deer skin and preserved with the collection of Sainte Genevieve archives. No modern commercial enterprise, not even the mail-order house, has ever risen to such heights. Here was a store which was a combined grocery, butcher, and dry-goods shop. It sold hardware, footwear, stationery. It was an oculist's shop (two pairs of glasses were sold on November 17, 1799 and three on January 17, 1800). It was a laundry, with special

⁶Edmund Flagg, *The Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838), II, 163.

⁷Victor Collot, *A Journey in North America* (Paris: printed for Arthur Bertrand, Bookseller, 1826), II, 201-205.

charges for mending. It was a dental supply station (two tooth brushes (!) were sold on the third of January, 1800). It was a music shop, doing prodigious business in fiddle strings, and an artists' agency, furnishing players for balls. It was, finally, a land and water transfer company, and a storage house where goods might be left for future trade or personal use."⁸

Under Spanish rule licenses to sell were required. "The invariable policy of that government as regards her colonies, is to prevent, as much as possible, all intercourse betwixt them and other nations; and anxious only to raise *immediate* revenue, it is in the continued habit of sacrificing futurity to the present . . . The most depressing regulations were made to shackle the internal trade of the country; no man could sell the smallest article, not even a row of pins, without a licence, and those licences were sold at the most extravagant rates. A stranger coming into the province, and offering goods at a fair price, was certain to be sent to prison, and to have his goods confiscated."⁹

"There are but few who practice the mechanic arts for a livelihood; carpenters, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, etc., as *artisans*, were formerly almost unknown, and there is now in this respect but little change [first decade of the nineteenth century]."¹⁰ "Mason work of that day was good; but of the rest I can say nothing in praise of them. The cooerage of the country amounted to very little more than making well-buckets. The carpenters were unskillful in their profession. They framed houses and covered them with peg shingles; made batton doors, etc., in a rough fashion. No shoemakers, or tanners; but all dressed deer skins, and made mawkawsins. Almost every inhabitant manufactured his own cart and plough, and made his harness, traces, and all out of raw hides. Blacksmith shops were like iron—scarce."¹¹

⁸Ward Allison Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*. (Columbia, Mo.: 1935) *University of Missouri Studies*, X, No. 2, p. 27. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

⁹Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of American*, pp. 283-284.

¹⁰Flagg, *The Far West*, II, 163.

¹¹John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois, Containing the Discovery in 1673, and the History of the Country to the Year Eighteen Hundred and Eighteen When the State Government Was Organized*. (Belleville, Ill.: N. A. Randall, 1852), p. 87.

However, in 1799, when the inhabitants of New Bourbon gave a voluntary contribution to the King of Spain, the following were some of the occupations listed for the men who contributed: carpenter, armorer, planter, saltmaker, interpreter among the savages Aux Saline, cooper, merchant,—the majority by far being saltmaker and planter.¹²

Professional men were few: priest, occasional teacher, a few doctors, and the ever-necessary "notaire." This latter personage held far higher standing in his French community than that implied by our English term "notary." He was authorized to draw up marriage contracts, to make wills, to serve as witness, and to do a number of lesser legal duties usually performed by lawyers.

Of notaries and the execution of their duties, the Spanish laws at the time of the passing of Louisiana to American possession, had much to say. In definition: "By a notary public is meant a person skilled in writing: there are two kinds of notaries. The first, they who draw up the privileges and other instruments of writing, issuing from the king's court: the second, they who execute acts of sale, purchase, and the contracts or agreements which men enter into, in towns and cities. The good they do is very great, when they faithfully discharge the duties of their offices: for by them the necessary business of the kingdom is executed, and dispatched; and through them the remembrance of things past is perpetuated in the minutes preserved in their registers, and by the acts they execute, as we have shown in the preceding title which spoke of their writings . . .

"The power of appointing notaries belongs to the emperor or king, because they are in a manner, one of the branches of sovereign authority, which resides in the king, etc. etc."¹³

The earliest leading physician in St. Louis was Auguste A. Condé, who took up a land grant in that city in 1766 where he

¹²Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union*. (Chicago; R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, 1908), I, 367 fn. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

¹³*The Laws of Las Siete Partidas, which are still in force in the State of Louisiana*, translated from the Spanish by L. Moreau Lislet and Henry Carleton, Counsellors at Law, (New Orleans: James McKarrah, 1820), pp. 244-258.

resided until his death on November 28, 1776.¹⁴ "When Capt. Rios came up to the mouth of the Missouri in 1768, he brought with him as surgeon, Dr. Jean B. Valteau, a Frenchman by birth."¹⁵

"When the French Revolution began to rage, great numbers of the *haute noblesse* of the French court and their followers and sympathizers emigrated to America, and St. Louis gained a large and most valuable accession of population from their source, men and women of the most distinguished manners and refined culture, who, in often the most extreme poverty and privations and compelled to earn their living by the meanest offices,—nurses, governesses, housekeepers, storekeepers, barbers, fiddlers, teachers,—yet preserved their dignity and self-respect and extorted the respect of all around them."¹⁶

BARTER

"Whether a settler traded with the Indians, hunted, mined, made salt, farmed, or combined all these activities, if he were priest, doctor, store-keeper, or *engagé*, he sometimes found it necessary to pay and receive payment. Here opens a most picturesque chapter of frontier life—the medium of exchange. Naturally the commonest payment was made 'in kind.' Accounts in the trader's book are repeatedly checked: 'Paid in lead,' 'paid in salt,' 'paid in pelts.'"¹⁷

"When a savage enters the traders cabin, he lays down the skins which he has to dispose of and fixes on the articles which he prefers. Each skin has a conventional value. What they call a *plu*, is equal in value to a dollar. Thus, two goat-skins make a *plu*, an otter's skin two *plu*."¹⁸

¹⁴Frederic L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations* . . . (St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Company, 1818), p. 390.

¹⁵John Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1883), I, 176.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, I, p. 309.

¹⁷Dorrance, *Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, p. 28.

¹⁸François Marie, Perrin du Lac, *Travels through the two Louisianas, and among the Savage Nations of the Missouri; also, in the United States, along the Ohio, and the adjacent Provinces, in 1801, 1802, & 1803. With a Sketch of the Manners, Customs, Character, and the Civil and Religious Ceremonies of the People of Those Countries.* (London: printed for Richard Phillips by J. G. Barnard, 1807), pp. 50-51.

"St. Louis, in retaining control of the Missouri and Arkansas Rivers fur trade, not only acquired control of the large barter and exchange trade thus made local in that town, but it controlled also the chief currency of those sections, and had the advantage of possessing large supplies of a circulating medium of fixed and certain value, receivable by Indians and whites equally and alike. Fur was the currency of St. Louis from the days of Laclede very nearly until Missouri became a State

"Other things were taken in exchange and barter,— beeswax, whiskey, potash, maple-sugar, salt, wood, feathers, bear's oil, venison, fish, lead, but fur was the currency and the standard of value, the representative of and equivalent to the *livres tournois* of hard metal. The only small coin consisted of Mexican dollars, cut with a chisel into four or five pieces,—'bits.' A pound of shaved deerskin of good quality represented about twice the value of the *livre*, and a pound of beaver, otter, and ermine represented so many pounds of deerskin. A 'pack' of skins had a definite weight, and thus trade and computation were both easy. Checks and notes were drawn against them, deposits were made of furs and packs, and on the whole they constituted a much better and more uniform currency than the staple tobacco which was at one time the only circulating medium of Virginia and Maryland. 'Bons' were a species of order or note for goods, redeemable in peltries, which, when signed with the name of any responsible merchant or trader, had full currency in local and general trade. Practically they were certificates of deposit, but convertible or exchangeable into any other equivalents in the course of trade and barter."¹⁹

"But furs were not the only currency. A 'carrot' of tobacco also had a certain accepted value, a 'carrot' being a roll of tobacco in appearance of the shape of a bologna sausage, and called a 'carrot' because resembling the root of that name."²⁰ "The carrots had a definite weight, like the packs of furs, and their usual value was about two livres. They were sometimes prepared by boring a half-inch or inch hole in a log of tough wood; the tobacco, damp and cured, was wedged into this hole tightly

¹⁹Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, I, 290-291.

with wallet and peg, and when the plug was as tight and hard as was desired the log was split and the tobacco taken out."²¹

"Upper Louisiana was always destitute of a circulating medium: Specie, indeed, was a rare article in that country. . . . Remittances were made in peltry, lead, and some provisions; but as the value of these did not exceed that of the imports, no specie was put in circulation by commerce This deficiency of money induced the government to consider peltry as the medium of trade, and as a legal tender in the payment of debts, except in cases where it infringed the express stipulation of the parties. The Spanish laws not only sanctioned, but coerced the *specific performance* of contracts, and on this principle all judicial determinations, at least in Upper Louisiana, were grounded. A note, for instance, of one hundred dollars was payable in peltry, unless it expressly stipulated, that the payment should be in *Spanish milled dollars*. The specification in contracts was the more necessary, as one silver dollar was always deemed equal to one dollar and twenty five cents in peltry."²²

"The rapidity with which specie of all kinds left Louisiana made it necessary for the colonial officials to resort to various expedients in order to retain it in the province. . . . As early as 1703 Iberville received furs from the Canadian traders and gave in return bills of exchange. These were called a 'designated' or 'named' money and were negotiable only when indorsed. . . ."²³

"So serious indeed was the shortage of specie in Louisiana that the crown deemed it advisable, September 15, 1733, to issue card money for the province similar to the kind used in New France. . . . Practically all the actual money required in Louisiana was for the settlements on or near the coast. There a certain amount of silver was needed"²⁴

²⁰Houck *History of Missouri*, II, 260. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

²¹Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, I, 291.

²²Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, p. 282.

²³N. M. Miller Surry, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699-1763* (New York: Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents 1916), p. 115. (Reprinted by permission of Columbia University Press.)

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 124-125. (Reprinted by permission of Columbia University Press.)

"The legal prices for European goods in the Illinois country were higher than on the lower Mississippi."²⁵

In the Indian trade, in chief demand were "blue and scarlet cloths, vermilion, guns, balls, gunpowder, copper kettles, knives, black feathers, hats for the chiefs, silver and tin trinkets, and blue, red, black, and white ribands, which are used exclusively by the women."²⁶ "The Indians are much more particular in the color and quality of their goods than is generally suspected."²⁷

When the Spanish government took over Louisiana "there were in the colony seven millions of paper currency, which had been issued by the French government. When the rumor spread that the Spaniards were coming up the river, among the other causes of consternation, was the uncertainty existing as to that currency. Would the Spanish government reject it altogether? Would it be suppressed in private transactions?"²⁸ Ulloa, the Spanish governor, anxious to conciliate the French inhabitants, offered to purchase the French paper currency with dollars, at the rate of 75 per cent, but the French chose to give him all manner of trouble.²⁹

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 300. (Reprinted by permission of Columbia University Press.)

²⁶Perrin du Lac, *Travels through the Two Louisianas*, p. 55.

²⁷Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, p. 299.

²⁸Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, The French Domination* (New York: Redfield, 1854), II, 158.

²⁹*Ibid.*, II, pp. 159-160.

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HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from February through April 1947, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Painter, Wm. R., Carrollton
Zwick, G. L., St. Joseph

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Mills, Ray G., St. Louis

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Gambrel, Harry M., Kansas City
Nichols, William B., Kansas City
Opie, John T., Kansas City
Starr, H. V., Independence
Wilson, Dean, Hannibal

ONE NEW MEMBER

Ault, Frederick C., St. Louis	Moore, George H., St. Louis
Barnes, Wm. R., St., Louis	Morton, John N., Springfield
Barnett, Robert C., Jefferson City	Paeglow, Mrs. J. A., California
Barrett, Jesse W., St. Louis	Pigg, E. L., Jefferson City
Bates, G. H., Jefferson City	Powers, Everett, Carthage
Bohrer, Everett L., Kansas City	Pritchard, J. F., Kansas City
Crowe, E. J., Webster Groves	Reinhardt, John F., Kansas City
De Laney, Wesley A., St. Louis	Roland, Mrs. Claude K., St. Louis
Effrein, E. B., Farmington	Shoemaker, Mrs. Floyd C., Columbia
Engel, Albert J., St. Louis	
English, W. Francis, Columbia	Simmons, S. P., Marshall
Fristoe, Frank H., Kansas City	Tammany, Stephen C., St. Louis
Gifford, B. F., St. Joseph	Thaxton, H. E., Doniphan
Halligan, Charles F., Union	Truitt, Paul T., Chevy Chase, Maryland
James, Mrs. Ed D., Joplin	
Lambrechts, Clara, St. Louis	Williams, Roy D., Boonville
Marquis, George C., Independence	Williams, S. C., Kansas City
Mermond, Mrs. J. Fred, Monett	

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One hundred fifty-two applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from February to April 1947, inclusive. The total annual membership as of April 30, 1947, is 4253.

The new members are:

Archdiocese of St. Louis, St. Louis	Dixon, James E., Hannibal
Askins, Mrs. Hugh, Union Star	Dorsey, Robert S., Brookfield
Atchison County Library, Rock Port	Douglass, Mrs. Viola Bigelow, Chicago, Illinois
Atzenweiler, Walter H., Kansas City	Doyle, P. J., Caruthersville
Bailey, P. A., San Diego, California	Droher, Isaac H., St. Joseph
Beaumont, John W., St. Joseph	Duncan, James H., Savannah
Berry, Frank, Hannibal	Dunnington, G. Waldo, Natchitoches, Louisiana
Bey, Albert, Perryville	Dysart, Mrs. Reed, Graham
Biehle, E. H., Perryville	Edwards, Deryl, Carrollton
Bigelow, Miss M. O., Long Beach California	Einbender, A. J., St. Joseph
Binns, Walter Pope, Liberty	Engel, Mrs. Laura M., Merriam, Kansas
Block, Harry, St. Joseph	Erwin, Walter B., Brookfield
Bowers, Leonard V., Springfield	Evans, Charles M., Pueblo, Colorado
Boyce, Mrs. W. K., Jefferson City	Evans, Gus, Brookfield
Brewer, Melvin J., Perryville	Ewing, W. Prewitt, Kansas City
Brewer, W. E., Carrollton	Ferguson, Ted R., Carrollton
Brown, J. Lelan, Maysville	Finlayson, John T., Carrollton
Brown, Wm. Justin, Springfield, Illinois	Finney, Carl, St. Louis
Bube, E. W., Richmond Heights	Fisher, Joseph L., St. Joseph
Buchmann, Walter A., St. Louis	Fiske, George, Kansas City
Burns, Mrs. Allan F., Little Rock, Arkansas	FitzSimon, L. J., Amarillo, Texas
Burrus, Miss Temple, St. Louis	Fletcher, Alma, Arcadia
Campbell, Wm. M., St. Joseph	Flynn, William P., St. Louis
Casey, Phyllis A., St. Louis	Freeman, R. W., Carrollton
Clark, Fred M., Savannah	Gee, Roy H., Savannah
Clark, T. J., Carrollton	Gee, Walter C., Savannah
Crane, Le Roy, Brookfield	Geiser, S. W., Dallas, Texas
Cross, John W., Chevy Chase, Maryland	Gentry, Frank, Carrollton
Daniel, Sister Mary, St. Louis	Gibson, Donald, Independence
Decker, Kenneth, Brookfield	Gibson, Raymond L., St. Joseph
DeShazo, Loren E., Colorado Springs, Colorado	Graff, Erle B., Savannah
	Green, J. Ed, St. Louis
	Green, John Raeburn, St. Louis
	Haar, C. J., Carrollton
	Hall, Mrs. Elizabeth, Festus

- Hall, Stanley, Union
 Hartsock, W. E., St. Joseph
 Helm, Mrs. Carnie W., Joplin
 Hepple, Lawrence M., Columbia
 Herndon, W. J., Marshall
 Higgins, Cort, St. Joseph
 Hill, Karleen, California
 Holt, Elnora, Savannah
 Hufnagle, Arthur, St. Joseph
 James, S. M., Carrollton
 Jobson, Arthur, Marceline
 Jones, James Melson, St. Joseph
 Kampschroeder, Norvin, Washington
 Karras, Gust, St. Joseph
 Karsch, George H., Farmington
 Kaysing, Fred H., Kansas City
 Keefe, Jack M., St. Joseph
 Keithly, Lois Turner, Center
 Kolkmeier, Wm., Carrollton
 Kuehn, Curt E., St. Joseph
 Laffoon, Wallace, Dittmer
 Langston, Mrs. George H., Tex-
 homa, Oklahoma
 Le Blond, C. H., St. Joseph
 Lehmer, George, Oregon
 Light, Ivan H., St. Louis
 McDonald, George, Carrollton
 McGowan, John E., Brookfield
 McPherson, Harry E., St. Joseph
 Mannschreck, Samuel G., St. Joseph
 Matteson, Joseph S., Grant City
 Meyer, Mrs. Harry L., Alton, Illi-
 nois
 Meyer, Lawton E., St. Louis
 Miller, Joseph C., Webster Groves
 Minnis, John C., Carrollton
 Moncrief, Adeil J., St. Joseph
 Monett Public Library, Monett
 Montgomery, T. F., Bolckow
 Moore, Sidney, Independence
 Moulthrop, Jack J., Kansas City
 Nacy, Joe P., Jefferson City
 Nolt, Earl, Savannah
 O'Donnell, Pat, Carrollton
 Orr, Robert B., St. Joseph
 Parker, Norman, Columbia
 Pearce, Frank, Carrollton
 Pope, Maurice, St. Joseph
 Powelson, Mrs. R. O., St. Joseph
 Radican, Joe G., Perryville
 Reed, Carl H., Carrollton
 Ripper, A. A., Jefferson City
 Rush, Oscar J., Grant City
 Ryan, J. Harold, St. Joseph
 Salmon, David W., St. Louis
 Saunders, George M., Kansas City
 Schaefer, George A., St. Louis
 Schmidt, Edgar F., Carrollton
 Schmidtke, Benjamin L., Jefferson
 City
 Shanklin, Lloyd, St. Joseph
 Schultz, O. E., St. Joseph
 Smith, Clifton, St. Joseph
 Sparks, Van J., Kansas City
 Stanford, D. E., Carrollton
 Sutherland, H. Edwin, Louisiana
 Sutherland, Lee C., St. Joseph
 Taneyhill, H. C., St. Louis
 Thaxton, John I., Raton, New
 Mexico
 Tipton, Dale, Fillmore
 Tobler, J. Earl, Kansas City
 Trosper, Mrs. Bab Bell, Monroe
 City
 Trotter, H. T., Carrollton
 Turner, J. P., Carrollton
 The University of Oklahoma,
 Norman, Oklahoma
 Walker, Walter C., Kansas City
 Watson, W. M., Columbia
 White, Harrison, Hannibal
 Whitnah, F. R., Ferguson
 Wickersham, P. O., Cainsville
 Widell, Phillip, Blackwater
 Weiberg, F. G., Perryville
 Wieman, W. W., DeSoto
 Williams, George W., Jefferson City
 Williams, Stanley C., Kansas City
 Wilson, Mrs. A. W., Ness City,
 Kansas
 Wolf, H. B., Grant City
 Wolfe, Ernest N., Kansas City
 Yount, J. L., Columbia

LUTHERAN CENTENNIAL

The 100th anniversary of the founding of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio, Missouri and Other States was celebrated by Lutherans of St. Louis with a Centennial Jubilee program presented at Kiel Auditorium April 27th, the Reverend Henry George Hartner of Denver, Colorado, delivering the festival sermon which traced the history of the church. The Synod, founded in 1847 with 12 congregations representing 4000 members, now numbers over 4700 churches with a membership of 1,500,000. Representatives of over 200 congregations in Missouri and Illinois took part in the services in which four mass choirs participated. The occasion also honored the memory of the Reverend Dr. Carl Ferdinand W. Walther, a founder of the Missouri Synod.

Jefferson City Trinity Lutheran Church held special observances also on April 27 and a pageant in commemoration was given April 28 and 29.

JOSEPH PULITZER CENTENNIAL

The centennial of the birth of Joseph Pulitzer, was commemorated April 10th in addresses delivered in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C., and in a resolution of eulogy adopted by the Missouri State Senate in Jefferson City.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* published a special roto-gravure section of twenty pages April 6th which used as a cover a pastel drawing of Pulitzer by D. R. Fitzpatrick. Replete with pictures of the eminent journalist and his family, excerpts from his writings, recollections of his secretaries, and evaluations of his life, this section is a worthwhile memorial to a great editor. The versatility of his interests was indicated by his bequests to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the New York Philharmonic Society, and the two and one-half million dollar fund to found the Pulitzer School of Journalism of Columbia University and establish annual awards for outstanding works in journalism, literature, history, and biography.

In commemoration of this anniversary of new three-cent postage stamp was issued and placed on sale in New York City April 10th. The stamp, the first to be issued in honor of a journalist as such, bears a picture of Pulitzer taken from a painting by John Singer Sargent, and engraving of the Statute of Liberty, and Pulitzer's words which express his conviction: "Our republic and its press will rise or fall together." A consignment of the stamps was also delivered the same day in a formal presentation to the Missouri Historical Society in Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis.

St. Louis observed the anniversary with ceremonies at the Old Courthouse, the place where the young journalist bought the *Dispatch* on December 9, 1878. Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalistic fraternity, through its Historic Sites in Journalism Committee, dedicated a bronze plaque which was embedded in the sidewalk at the bottom of the east steps of the Old Courthouse. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri and chairman of the Historic Sites in Journalism Committee, presided at the dedication ceremonies and introduced the speakers, Mayor Aloys P. Kaufmann of St. Louis, George W. Healy, Jr., national president of Sigma Delta Chi and managing editor of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, and Joseph Pulitzer II, son of the founder of the *Post-Dispatch* and the paper's present owner and publisher.

GILLESPIE COLLECTION OF WAR LETTERS

W. W. Gillespie, editor of the *Memphis Reville*, has donated to the State Historical Society a collection totaling 1680 items (2950 pages) including 1392 war letters either written by or concerning Scotland County's service men and women in World War II. The war letters, also published in the weekly *Reville*, were mostly written to Mr. Gillespie in gratitude for the newspaper which he sent with his compliments to service men and women from Scotland County. The letters came from men and women in foreign service and those in training in the U. S. The Gillespie Collection has been arranged and filed for permanent preservation in the library of the Society.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

Missouri's "old time religion" with its itinerant pioneer preachers and popular campmeetings, the story of the *S. S. Missouri* of 1843 and the one of 1892, and the origin of the "Missouri Waltz" and its later history are the subjects of some of the latest weekly news features prepared by the State Historical Society and published in metropolitan and rural newspapers throughout the state. The articles released during April, May and June are as follows:

April: "Missouri's 'Old Time Religion,'" "Missouri Pioneers Chose Economical Ways to Honor Memory of Thomas Jefferson," "When a King Sued in Missouri," and "Going to 'Meetin' Was a Favorite Pastime for Early Missourians."

May: "There Was Never a Dull Moment at a Missouri Campmeeting," "The *Missouri*, Pride of the Navy, Burned at Gibraltar," "'Missouri Waltz' Labelled Hick Tune by Music Dealers in 1914," and "S. S. *Missouri* Carries Relief Cargo to Starving Russians."

June: "River, Stay 'Way from My Door," "A-Sailing They Did Go But They Never Got Far from Land," "Many Interpretations Have Been Given the Name, Missouri," "It Is Still a Moot Question," and "Elizabeth C. Smith, Alias 'Bill Newcume'—Mexican War Soldier."

MICROFILMING MISSOURI WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

In 1946 the Society, with an appropriation made by the sixty-third General Assembly of Missouri and approved by Governor Phil M. Donnelly, inaugurated a policy of microfilming the 300 weekly Missouri newspapers which it received in 1945. Due to the use of woodpulp in making newsprint, the newspapers of the last seventy five years are deteriorating rapidly and the adoption of the project of microfilming current papers as well as old ones marks a real contribution to the preservation of Missouri's historical records. The 1945 weekly newspapers microfilmed last year totalled 116,950 pages.

At the same time the policy adopted in October, 1937, of microfilming old newspapers has been continued, both to preserve copies of those which were deteriorating and to obtain reproductions of original files not otherwise obtainable. From October, 1937, to December, 1945, 252,469 newspaper pages were microfilmed. During 1946, 11,566 pages of three old daily papers were microfilmed: the editor's files of the *Carthage People's Press*, April 25, 1872-1882, and the *Carthage Press* 1885-1897, 1899-1901; and the Society's original file of the *Kansas City Daily Journal* of January-February, 1890, October-December, 1894 and March 1899. The total of all newspapers microfilmed by the Society and received as gifts to January, 1947, was 379,985 pages.

The Society hopes to continue microfilming current weeklies, its other Missouri papers which are in danger of disintegrating, and files in editor's offices and in other depositories, and eventually, current Missouri dailies.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boonslick Historical Society celebrated its tenth anniversary with a dinner meeting in Boonville, February 26, at which time Dr. Walter H. Brown of Central College, Fayette, spoke on "The Pre-History of the Boonslick Region." Officers were elected as follows: A. M. Hitch, president; Gentry Estill, vice-president; Mrs. Russell L. Moore, secretary; and Mrs. E. W. Tucker, treasurer.

The Clay County Historical Society held a dinner meeting March 3 in Liberty with Judge Henry A. Bundschu speaking on "Alexander Doniphan's Treaty with the Navajo Indians." The Reverend Raymond W. Settle of Lexington also gave an address on Colonel Alexander Doniphan's expedition of 100 years ago.

Continuing the series of historical articles prepared under the auspices of the Cole County Historical Society and published in the *Jefferson City Sunday News and Tribune* during January, February, March and April were four entitled "The East

Main Street Race Track," "Many Difficulties Encountered in Securing Public Library for City," "John Giesecke Recalls Beginning of City's Industrial Development," and "At Cottage Place Park."

The society also sponsored a number of benefit bridge parties on March 1, for the purpose of raising funds for the modernization of its recently acquired museum.

The Historical Association of Greater St. Louis met in the Jefferson Memorial April 11, to hear an address by Elwood R. Maunder on "British Public Opinion toward Russia from Munich to the Beginning of World War II."

The Native Sons of Kansas City met March 21 for a dinner meeting. Grant I. Rosenzweig gave an address on "Early Days of the Kansas City Bar."

At its meeting March 4 in Platte City, the Platte County Historical Society was presented with a set of fourteen volumes of records of the 1875 Missouri Constitutional Convention, as a gift of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

A paper on "Cave, the Caretaker," a historical quiz, and a resume of the year 1847 with historical exhibits were interesting items on the program. Lena Stevenson, Weston, was appointed historian and Elaine Hettech, East Leavenworth, chairman of the camera and photo committee.

ANNIVERSARIES

The 100th anniversary of the incorporation of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, February 16, 1847, was celebrated by the Burlington Railroad in conjunction with the cities of Hannibal and St. Joseph.

The celebration was held on February 18 in Hannibal at the Mark Twain hotel with Howard F. Bennett, assistant professor of business history at Northwestern University, giving an address on the "fabulous forties" and the growing demand for quicker transportation which lead to the incorporation of

the railroad. A wooden plaque was presented by the Burlington to Mayor W. J. Schneider on the site of the building where the "H. and St. J." was organized.

Stanley Pargellis, supervisor of the Newberry Library in Chicago, spoke at the celebration at the Hotel Robidoux in St. Joseph, February 20, emphasizing the part played by George Harris, land agent for the Burlington. On exhibition at both St. Joseph and Hannibal were documents commemorative of the early days of Missouri railroading, Engine No. 35, and a replica of the first railway mail car in history.

Lawrence County is planning to celebrate its 100th anniversary July 31 to August 3 with a G. I. homecoming, a livestock fair and a pageant portraying the history of the county.

The first of five occasions to be observed during the celebration of the eightieth anniversary of the Northeast State College at Kirksville during the coming months, occurred at ceremonies on January 22 when an oil portrait of Joseph P. Blanton, president of the college 1882-1891, was unveiled. The portrait, by Jack Bohrer, former student at Kirksville, was presented on behalf of Blanton's son, David A. Blanton, along with a gift of \$1000 to be known as the Joseph B. Blanton Memorial Loan Fund. President Ryle accepted the gifts for the college and Dr. Minnie M. Brashear made the dedicatory address recalling the early days of the college and Blanton's part in the growth of its standards.

The St. Louis chapter No. 8, Royal Arch Masons, celebrated its 100th anniversary with special ceremonies March 7. William R. Gentry, a past grand master of Masons in Missouri, was the principal speaker. A twenty-five page pamphlet entitled "One Hundred Years of Royal Arch Masonry in Missouri" by Ray V. Denslow was issued to commemorate the event.

NOTES

Permission has been granted to the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department for use of an article on "Joseph Pulitzer" which appeared in the April 1941 issue of the *Missouri*

Historical Review. This article will be distributed in translations overseas in the occupied areas of Germany, Austria, Korea and Japan as part of the reorientation program to make known the thinking of the outside world—particularly American thinking and achievement. In carrying out this program the Civil Affairs Division surveys over 250 periodicals published in the United States for biographical material illustrating the achievements of prominent Americans and their contributions to American society.

A radio show "Rediscovering Missouri" is broadcast every Sunday morning at 10:15 over radio station KXLW, 1320 kilocycles, St. Louis. Material for this program is furnished KXLW by the State Historical Society of Missouri from weekly feature material which is published in the press throughout the State. This has been a service to the newspapers of the State by the Society since February 1925 and is the oldest and most widely local historical service published in the United States.

KXLW broadcasted for the first time on January first of this year with the first "Rediscovering Missouri" program on January fifth.

Miss Eva Jane Lewis of Sedalia is the newly elected president of the Missouri State Society of Washington D. C. This organization had its origin in a notice inserted in the *Washington Star* in 1900 by Joseph J. Manlove (according to an article by Malvina Stephenson in the *Kansas City Star* of April 25) asking all lonesome Missourians in the Capital to meet him at a certain hall. The response was so gratifying that a permanent organization was formed which grew and prospered until today it has the distinction of being the only state society in Washington which has functioned continuously since organization.

State legislation looking toward the creation of a Historical Sites and Objects Commission for Missouri was the subject of a conference held in Jefferson City on February 15 at which the Missouri Historical Monuments Association was formed. It was proposed that a five member, non-salaried commission be created by the state to make a survey of his-

torical sites, buildings, areas and objects with a view to acquiring and preserving them. Officers of the Association are: Stratford Lee Morton, St. Louis, president; I. R. Kelso, Cape Girardeau, vice-president; E. M. Stayton, Independence, vice-president; Hugh Stephens, Jefferson City, treasurer; and Charles van Ravenswaay, St. Louis, secretary.

The Chamber of Commerce of Lexington issued a news letter recently entitled "Visit Lexington, 'Missouri's Historic City.'" Copy No. 1 of this letter which was received by the State Historical Society April 30, gave the history of Lafayette County Courthouse.

Mrs. Clyde H. Porter of Kansas City has recently made the Society a valuable gift in the form of microfilmed copies of the Westport *Border Star*, including most of the issues from December 31, 1858, through September 29, 1860, as well as a microfilmed copy of the *Kansas City Enquirer and Star* for December 8, 15, and 22, 1860. A photostated copy of the *Kansas City Enquirer* of April 19, 1860, was also included in the gift.

With funds contributed at the Mark Twain museum in Hannibal, the Mark Twain Municipal Board has acquired the adjoining property on the west, according to announcement made by John A. Winkler, chairman of the Board. The house on this plot of ground is to be torn down and the area landscaped in keeping with the grounds east of the Clemens boyhood home, which was presented to the city of Hannibal by the Mahan family.

The annual spring meeting of the Missouri Archaeological Society was held in the Administration Building of Springfield State Teacher's College, April 26. Addresses were given by Dr. M. G. Mehl of the University of Missouri on the Indian contemporaneous with extinct animals in Missouri, and Dr. S. C. Dellinger of the University of Arkansas on the Ozark Bluff Dweller culture.

The Missouri Historical Society met in the Jefferson Memorial in St. Louis, February 28, for an address by Ernst C. Krohn on "Missouri's Contribution to American Music." At its meeting on March 28 Frederic E. Voelker spoke on "The Mountain Men and Their Part in the Opening of the West." At the annual meeting of the Society on April 30 Paul M. Angle gave an address on "The Uses of History."

The National Folk Festival is coming "home" to Kiel Auditorium in St. Louis, May 21-24, after an absence of thirteen years. Started in 1934 under the leadership of Miss Gertrude Knott to demonstrate what we have preserved of ancient traditions in folklore and folk music the festival has grown in size and significance until this year over 1000 singers and dancers will come from twenty-five states to present this colorful and distinctly American program.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Mark K. Carroll, pastor of St. Margaret's Catholic Church, St. Louis, has been consecrated as a bishop, following his appointment by Pope Pius XII to head the diocese of Wichita, Kansas. Msgr. Carroll is a native of St. Louis and for many years has been active in welfare and recreational work for the young people of that city. While serving as pastor of the Old Cathedral 1937-1943, he collected and codified the historical memorials of the old church and established the present Old Cathedral Museum. This museum was the subject of an article in the St. Louis *Star-Times*, August 31, 1946.

Dr. Homer P. Rainey, president-elect of Stephens College, Columbia, has been awarded the Thomas Jefferson Prize for the Advancement of Democracy in the field of education. Dr. Harlow Shapley, a graduate of the University of Missouri and now director of the Harvard Observatory, has been similarly honored by receiving the award in the field of science.

The Thomas Jefferson Prize was established by the Council Against Intolerance in 1943. Those receiving this distinction are chosen by nation-wide balloting of city editors and civic organizations.

Dr. Dixon Wector has been appointed to succeed Bernard De Voto as literary editor of the Mark Twain estate, which has been transferred from Harvard University to Huntington Library, San Marino, California, on a long-term loan. In addition Mrs. Clara Clemens Samossound has made available to the library more than 600 letters written by Mark Twain to members of his family and never before released.

Judge Henry A. Bundschu, in following his hobby of collecting stories about interesting personalities, has recently brought to light the story of Fannie Owens of Independence, a belle of the 1840s, her marriage to John Harper, his spectacular murder trial and his brilliant defense by Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan. Published in the Kansas City *Star* of March 30, it is one of a number of stories which Judge Bundschu is compiling about picturesque personalities of Independence.

"A Story of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904" is the subject of two historical articles by Clara R. Mutshnick in the *Watchman-Advocate* of Clayton, March 14 and March 28. The prospect of another such exposition in 1953 makes these articles timely ones.

Two feature articles of interest to historians have recently appeared in the Kansas City papers. The *Star* of February 20, carried a story by Chester A. Bradley entitled "Century-Old Hannibal and St Joseph Road Gave Kansas City an Important Boost" in which he tells of Addison Clark's early speed record on the line of seventy miles an hour, the innovation of mail sorted on the trains, and the struggle necessary to make Kansas City the terminus of the old "H. and St. J."

The other article, in the *Times* of February 24, is by Dwight Pennington on "Doniphan Saga Recalled in Centennial Year of Daring Expedition to Mexico." He tells of the dramatic march of Doniphan and his 1,164 men and their victory over a force of 4,220 Mexicans at the Battle of Sacramento.

The diamond jubilee of the Santa Fe Trail will be celebrated by communities in central and southwest Kansas this year for it was in 1872 that the first highway established through Kansas by the white man was "modernized" by the coming of the railroad and growth of that section of the country began. An article by Frank J. Shideler in the *Kansas City Star* of April 13 brings out many interesting points in Kansas and Missouri history of that period.'

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Old Cape Girardeau. Compiled by the Naeter Brothers. (Cape Girardeau, Mo.: Naeter Brothers Publishing Co., 1946. 60 pp.) This attractive little booklet was published to "awaken a greater interest in the past" in present generations. It succeeds admirably in its purpose for it highlights the most important events of Cape Girardeau history, it is generous with its fine photographs and color reproductions of paintings, and its high quality printing and type face are unusually good. However, the historian may question several of the statements made. The *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* of January 3, 1939, states that De Soto did not enter Missouri; the tribe of Indians who gave their name to our river and state is usually given as the "Missouris"; and the cross was probably erected on Grand Tower Island in 1698. The booklet is a fine example of community interest in its past.

Midwest At Noon. By Graham Hutton. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. 351 pp.) In the words of one reviewer this "book is one of the most understanding and appreciative analyses which the Midwest has ever received from the hand of a foreigner." The author came to America's Midwest in 1937, where for five years he served as Director of the office of British Information. His book was written on a Newberry Library fellowship and is a record of what the author saw and thought of this region.

Missouri, unfortunately, is barely included in the scope of the work. The Ozark plateau is entirely and expressly

excluded. The rest of the state is specifically considered on a score of pages but excepting St. Louis which gets a page and Kansas City which receives attention as "another city of the 'marginal belt'" looking west to the Plains, each consideration is hardly more than a mention.

To St. Louis, however, is paid this tribute: "St. Louis is a city set apart in the Midwest; in the region, yet not of it; French in origin; German in settlement and development; . . . owning slaves and still largely southern in outlook; drawn to the North and East by the rail traffic; made into an industrial, financial, and commercial metropolis and a hub of communications; but still more stable, ordered, and settled in its way of life than any other Midwest city. . . . To this day society in St. Louis has a cultural life older, more vigorous and spread more generally over its citizens than that of any other Midwest city."

Dusty Spring. By Elizabeth Seifert. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1946. 248 pp.) Another novel of a small town with its typical small town gossip, love affairs and prejudices, but deeper than all this the author has presented the needless sorrows and frustrations brought on by intolerance between religions and lack of understanding between generations and between those of the same generation. Problems which may have confronted many of us are treated with understanding and the reader is left with the hope that those of the new generation of World War II will have a broader outlook and be better able to solve their problems, than were their parents.

The Teton Mountains, Their History and Tradition. By Nolie Mumey. (Denver: The Artcraft Press, 1947. 447 pp.) Their lofty peaks serving as landmarks, the "Trois Tetons" came to have an important place in the annals of the West. Located near the boundary of Wyoming and Idaho, early trappers and traders at the beginning of the nineteenth century as well as later adventurers and "mountain men" explored and plotted their courses by them; artists such as Thomas Moran

came to paint them; and finally missionaries and settlers came to inhabit "Pierre's Hole" and "Jackson's Hole" as their valleys were called. Jim Colter, Manuel Lisa, Andrew Henry, Jim Bridger, and Father DeSmet are a few of the famous names associated with the opening up of this region, the natural beauty of which was recognized in 1929 by making it a National Park.

The Westerners Brand Book 1944. Edited by Mannel Hahn. (Chicago: Privately printed, 1946. 151 pp.) A collection of original papers presented at the meetings of the Westerners of Chicago during the first year of their existence 1944-1945, this volume treats of "Calamity Jane," Jesse James, the battle of the Little Big Horn, dime novels, and other early Americana of unusual interest. Formed for the purpose of investigating and discussing the cultural background and evolution of the Rocky Mountain West, the Westerners have succeeded admirably, for original stories, letters, and journals have been brought to light and presented by the members in an informal manner conducive to the arousing of interest in the reader while at the same time adding to his store of knowledge.

Truman Speaks. Edited by Cyril Clemens. (Webster Groves, Missouri: International Mark Twain Society, 1946. 128 pp.) When Truman speaks, one hears America speaking, for Truman is typically "of the people" and uses a vocabulary which the people understand, whether they agree with his ideas or not. His principal speeches and addresses, edited by Cyril Clemens, range from those as senator in 1943 when addressing the representatives of management and labor, and those as vice-president, to the more inspiring ones as president when he was called upon to deal with events of world importance.

Mark Twain: The Letters of Quintus Curtius Snodgrass. Edited by Ernest E. Leisy. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1946. 76 pp.) Appearing in the New Orleans *Daily Crescent* early in 1861 but only lately brought to light

and edited by Mr. Leisy, these letters, supposedly from the pen of Mark Twain, show almost unmistakable evidence of the Twainian style. They burlesque some of the maneuvers of the Louisiana militia in the Civil War and their exuberant style of humor typical of the Civil War period, their point of view and phraseology, their frequent references to Dickens and the Bible are remarkably similar to Twain's later and better known writings. Read at one sitting, they cease to be funny according to modern standards, but dipped into at intervals one is amused. They appear to be a step in the development of the later delightful works of Mark Twain.

For Here Is My Fortune. By Amos R. Harlin. (New York: London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946. 290 pp.) Written to correct the prevailing idea of the Ozark folk as ignorant and uncouth hill billies the author tells an entertaining story of the large Conway family who are the arbiters of a typical hill country community in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Written in a happy vein which shows little of the dark side, it is America as yet unspoiled by commercialism.

He Led Me Through the Wilderness. By Minnie Jay Forster. (Privately printed, 1946, 139 pp.) Written by a woman of true pioneer spirit who followed where her restless, inventor husband led, the author tells her story of early days in southwest Missouri and her later ones in New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Kansas in a chatty, conversational manner. The mother of four children, she ran the gamut of living in a dug-out with two windows above ground to presiding over fine homes in Enid, Oklahoma, and Wichita, Kansas, in the same spirit of cooperation and loyalty. Still ready to carry on, even though lonely after the death of her husband Tom, the author closes with advice to her children and their children "not to lose faith in humanity The world has never needed substantial, dependable citizens more than it does at this time. Don't let obstacles stand in your way."

OBITUARIES

IRA D. BEALS: Born in Carroll County, Mo., June 24, 1885; died in Chillicothe, Mo., Nov. 12, 1946. Circuit judge of the 36th judicial circuit for almost twenty years prior to his retirement in 1944, he had formerly been a teacher in Pennsylvania, part owner and operator of a business school, and upon his return to Missouri had attended the Kansas City School of Law and been admitted to the bar in 1914. He served as probate judge of Caldwell County 1918-1926.

VICTOR BERLENDIS: Born in Venice, Italy, 1867; died in St. Louis, Mo., April 8, 1947. After studying sculpture under leading Italian masters, he came to this country in 1893 and was naturalized four years later. Outstanding as a plastic sculptor, he executed commissions for the Masonic Temple in St. Louis, the Scottish Rite Cathedral, Southwestern Bell Telephone building, the Federal Reserve Bank building, and churches and private homes. Other examples of his sculptures are in the capitol at Jefferson City, the University of Missouri, and Washington University.

HOWARD LEE BICKLEY: Born in Mexico, Mo., May 3, 1871; died in Santa Fe, N. M., Mar. 4, 1947. After studying law at the University of Missouri, he was admitted to the bar in 1895 and began practising in Mexico, Missouri. He was later prosecuting attorney of Audrain County. First elected to the New Mexico Supreme Court in 1924, he was serving his third term as chief justice at the time of his death. He was a regent of the University of New Mexico, a member of the American Bar Association, and a 32nd degree Mason.

WINSTON CHURCHILL: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 10, 1871; died in Winter Park, Fla., Mar. 12, 1947. A graduate of the United States Naval Academy, he became an author of national note, a painter, and a participant in New Hampshire politics, where he served two terms in the state legislature. His best known literary works are *Richard Carvel* (1899), *The Crisis* (1901), *The Celebrity* (1897), *The Crossing* (1904), *Coniston* (1906), *Mr. Crewe's Career* (1908), *A Modern Chronicle*

(1910), *The Inside of the Cup* (1913), *A Far Country* (1915), *The Dwelling Place of Light* (1917), and *The Uncharted Way* (1941).

MALVERN BRYAN CLOPTON: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 8, 1875; died in Wianno, Mass., April 21, 1947. Receiving his M. D. degree from the University of Virginia in 1897, he began practice in St. Louis the same year. Professor of clinical surgery at Washington University medical school and later chief of staff at St. Luke's hospital, he was president of the university corporation from 1932 to 1942 and president of the Missouri State Board of Health from 1937 to 1940.

JOHN J. COCHRAN: Born in Webster Groves, Mo., Aug. 11, 1880; died in St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 6, 1947. Serving in the editorial department of various St. Louis newspapers, then as secretary to Representatives William L. Igoe and Harry B. Hawes and Senator William J. Stone, he was himself elected to Congress in 1926 where he served continuously for twenty years. Chairman of the Committee on Accounts and the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, his career was marked by an unceasing fight against unnecessary government expenditures. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1936.

LUDWIG ERNST FUERBRINGER: Born in Frankenmuth, Mich., Mar. 29, 1869; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 6, 1947. A former president of Concordia Seminary and a member of the faculty there for fifty-two years, he was an authority on Lutheran history in the United States. Educated in parochial schools, Concordia College in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, he was ordained in 1885 and served as assistant and later as pastor at Frankenmuth until his election to the chair of theology at Concordia Seminary in 1893. The associate editor of several periodicals published by the Synod, he prepared revised editions of the *Synodical Manual*, of Guenther's *Populaire Symbolik* and several editions of the *Statistical Annual* of the Synod.

He became a member of the State Historical Society in 1939, was elected a trustee in 1940 and a vice-president in 1944.

ERNEST SNEED GANTT: Born in Centralia, Mo., Jan. 11, 1867; died in Jefferson City, Mo., Mar. 4, 1947. Educated at the University of Missouri and admitted to the bar in 1892, he practised law in Mexico, serving two terms as city attorney there and two terms as prosecuting attorney of Audrain County. Judge of the Eleventh Circuit from 1916-1926, he was then elected judge of the Supreme Court of the Missouri division No. 1, in which position he served until his retirement in 1946. He was chief justice 1932-1934 and 1940-1942. He had been a member of the State Historical Society since 1933.

LOUIS M. MONSEES: Born in Pettis Co., Mo., Nov. 20, 1858; died in Smithton, Mo., Mar. 11, 1947. Entering the mule business at the age of ten, he became nationally known as a breeder of fine mules, winning many first prizes at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904, the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, and other places where he exhibited.

JOSIAH G. MOORE: Born in Flint Hill, Mo., Jan. 31, 1863; died in Pomona, Calif., Mar. 4, 1947. Graduating from Westminster College, Fulton, in 1885 and receiving his M. D. from Washington University in 1889, he became the first physician from Mexico, Missouri, to be named a fellow of the American College of Surgeons. He served one term in the state legislature, 1933-1935, and was a member of the Audrain, Missouri State, and American Medical associations.

JOHN B. POWELL: Born near Maywood, Mo., April 18, 1887; died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 28, 1947. A graduate of the University of Missouri in 1910, he began his newspaper career as city editor and later advertising manager of the Hannibal *Courier-Post*. He returned to the university as an instructor in the School of Journalism from 1912 to 1917, before

going to China where he was for many years editor of the *China Weekly Review* and the *China Press*. Imprisoned by the Japanese at the outbreak of the war, his heroism in the midst of almost unbearable conditions made him a world figure. After his return to this country in a serious physical condition, he recovered sufficiently to carry on his fight from the lecture platform for recognition of the importance of the Pacific. He was the author of several books, the latest of which is *My Twenty-five Years in China* (1945).

WILLIAM B. RICHARDSON: Born in St. Joseph, Mo., 1851; died in St. Joseph, Mo., Feb. 19, 1947. A life-long lover of fine horses and live stock, he deserted his early railroad ambitions and became a horse trainer and later stock inspector. Billed as the first Pony Express rider in America, he always disclaimed the honor and explained as an accident the event which gave rise to the story.

MRS. MINNIE LOUISE THOMAS: Born in Columbia, Mo., 1862 (?); died in Indianapolis, Ind., April 19, 1947. One of the first women to be listed in *Who's Who in America*, 1914-1915, she was the organizer and president of Lenox Hall, a St. Louis school for girls, from 1907 until 1929. Educated at the University of Missouri, she taught at Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri, contributed poetry and prose articles to periodicals, and after her marriage in 1889 to Joseph D. Thomas of Paris, Texas, she organized the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs in 1897.

TYRELL WILLIAMS: Born in Sandusky, Ohio, July 17, 1875; died in St. Louis, Mo., Mar. 1, 1947. After graduating from Princeton in 1898 and receiving his law degree from Washington University in 1900, he was admitted to the bar and engaged in private practice until 1913 when he became professor of law at Washington University and later acting dean of the Law School. He served as an arbiter in labor disputes and legal adviser for the United States Food Administration. He was a charter member of the American Law Institute, and a member of the St. Louis, Missouri State, and American Bar

Associations. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1938.

PURD B. WRIGHT: Born in Weston, Mo., Sept. 4, 1860; died in Kansas City, Mo., April 27, 1947. He served as head of the public library system of Kansas City from 1911 to 1937. Educated at Pleasant Ridge College in Platte County he was a newspaper man at Cameron and later at St. Joseph where he became city editor of the old *St. Joseph Herald* and editor of the *Journal of Commerce*. A leader in the movement to establish a library in St. Joseph, he was librarian there for a number of years prior to 1910, when he became librarian at Los Angeles, California, for one year. He was instrumental in planning a library for Park College, Parkville, where he was later given the honorary degree of doctor of literature.

President of the Missouri Library Association in 1904 and of the State Library Commission from 1907 to 1909, he was treasurer of the American Library Association in 1908 and 1909, a member of its executive board from 1909 to 1913, and a member of its council from 1919 for a number of years. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1911 and served as trustee of the Society from 1911 till 1920.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

THE FOUNDING OF ST. JOSEPH

Excerpts from a translation of "The First Settlements of the French West of the Mississippi" by Bartlett Boder in *France-Amerique*, New York City, March 2, 1947.

. . . When Joseph Robidoux opened his fur trading settlement in 1826 at the present site of St. Joseph in northwest Missouri he settled first at the mouth of Roy's Branch, named for Louis Roy, a Frenchman. He soon moved southward about a mile to the mouth of Blacksnake creek and his trading post became known among the Canadians or Mountaineers as La Post du Serpent Noir

The post Robidoux founded was a stout log building one and one-half stories high, six rooms down and three rooms above with a covered porch extending along the front which faced south. In addition a lean-to on the north side was divided into three rooms in one of which Robidoux slept. The building was built to withstand Indian attacks, but Robidoux spoke several tribal dialects and was always liked by the Indians. Chief White Cloud of the Iowa Indians, with whom I talked some ten years ago and who was then 98 years old, told me that Joseph Robidoux was his grandfather.

There were no white women at the early trading posts. Joseph Robidoux's family resided in St. Louis during the early trading post years. A negro slave named Poulite, who spoke French, looked after them. Angelique Vandry of St. Louis became Robidoux's wife, and they had six sons and one daughter. Their names were Faraon, Jules, Francis, Felix, Edmond, Charles and Angelique. The principal streets of St. Joseph were named after these children and still bear those quaint names

Robidoux Landing, as they now called the settlement, became a larger and busier community. Most of the newcomers were southerners of Anglo-Saxon heritage and many brought their negro slaves with them. The last time this writer remembers hearing the French language spoken by a large group was at the funeral of Angelique Croteau Boder, my step-grandmother, about 45 years ago

Due to the absence of white women, there were sketchy "marriages" between the white fur traders and Indian maidens as late as the later 1840s. R. F. Kurz, a young Swiss artist who came from Switzerland to St. Joseph to depict the Indians in their native haunts, made one of these marriages with Witthae, the daughter of an Iowa Chief named Kirutsche, who by the way, when younger, had visited King Louis Phillippe in Paris as his guest.

Kurz told of the marriage in his journal, which is on file at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington

In 1859 when the construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad was completed, it was Joseph Robidoux, founder of the city, who presided at the ceremony of the inauguration of the mixing of the waters of the Missouri and those of the Great Lakes.

MISSOURI'S FORT KNOX

From the *St. Louis Republican*, January 23, 1875. From Jefferson City.

The little double log cabin on the corner of East Main and Jackson streets, whose primitive appearance has made it a noted landmark for years, and which was the state treasurer's office in the olden times, is being demolished. . . . The building was put up by Old Johnny Walker when appointed state treasurer about the year 1833. . . . Mr. Walker never kept the treasury locked or bolted, as that was an age preceding the advent of railroad burglars and safe-blowers. He kept the government funds in an iron-bound oaken chest, divided into compartments for dollars, half dollars, quarters and bits. The chest was fastened by a staple and wythe, and to secure the contents from robbers, Mr. Walker at night slept on the chest. The treasurer's office was used at stated times for the preaching of the Gospel, and in after years it was occupied as a school-house. A thousand reminiscences of those early days rush on the minds of the very few old citizens still left as they witness with sorrowful eyes the disappearance of this last old landmark.

THEY HAD THE JUMP ON PSYCHIATRY

From the *St. Louis Republican*, January 24, 1875.

It was a somewhat strange thought, whoever invented it, to institute the social dance into the weird precincts of the asylum, whose denizens are mental wanderers, whose brains are racked with wild hallucinations and whose lustreless eyes glimmer at times with emptiness of expression. But it was a happy thought, this bringing-to-gether of phantom-brained creatures to awaken dull, anaemic minds by the sound of music and the tripping of feet on the dance floor. Who knows but that some mind which might have slept forever has been aroused in some such way, and grasping for a moment a healthy idea has been lead on by new impulse to regain the lost throne where reason once held sway! . . .

It may not generally be known that something transpires at the county insane asylum beyond the dull routine of everyday treatment connected with the discipline of that institution. To those be it said that there is a fascinating ball given every Saturday night at which the attendants go in 'all hands round' and trip the light fantastic to the time of charming music.

Insanity does not necessarily extend to the heels, hence there is no reason why a man demented in the upper story, should not be sound on the lower or pedal extremities.

OVER THEIR HEADS!

From the *Glasgow Weekly Times* December 6, 1849.

Mr. O'Reilly is determined to put Fort Leavenworth and St. Louis in communication. By a letter from Mr. Longborough, received a few days since, we are informed and authorized to announce to the public, that workmen would be upon the line before this date, locating the poles for the wires. Therefore the line of telegraph from St. Louis to the Western border of the State will be built, and that speedily—with our aid if they can get it, without it if they cannot.—Without aid from us the wires will pass over our heads and heed us not. Shall this be tolerated? The proprietor asks our citizens to subscribe \$5000 of stock to secure a station. Failing or refusing to do this, the Telegraph is a dead letter to us. What will our citizens do? —Statesman.

What will the citizens of Glasgow do? Let the wires pass over their heads, or subscribe sufficient stock to procure a station? We do hope they will take the matter in hand, seriously and soberly, weigh well its conveniences and advantages, and we doubt not they will come to a correct conclusion. Will those who feel an interest in the improvement of the place—who own property, and will be enriched by such an improvement, take hold?

WHAT IS THE WORLD COMING TO?

From the *Bowling Green Times*, March 14, 1889.

The National report of statistics on marriages and divorce in the United States tells some singular stories. It can scarcely be believed, but these figures show that in 1880 one out of 449 married couples obtained divorces, that this was a great increase over the proportion of 1870, when it stood one to 664. At the same rate of dissolving marital relations—one-third in ten years—the time is close at hand when divorce, instead of being exceptional, will become the rule. . . This increase of divorce is general over the country, being the most prevalent in the Western States.

WHERE HISTORY ABOUNDS

From *The Independence Examiner*, March 4, 1947.

If there is any spot in Missouri of sufficient historical significance to warrant being made a state park certainly it is the site of old Fort Osage in Jackson County.

It is important because of its connection with the early trade with the Indians, the settlement of the Middle West, the migrations to the West and

Southwest, the expansion of the union and the remarkable character of Major and Mrs. George Sibley. . . . Here in the early days civilization ended and the wilderness began. The ruts of the old trails still may be seen here. Markers designate the routes. The springs that provided water for men and beasts on their westward trek still flow. Frontiersmen are buried in our cemeteries and old walls still standing if given voice could tell startling tales of early adventure.

There is indeed enough national significance attached to old Fort Osage to make it a national monument, for here was signed the treaty under which the Osage Indians ceded most of Missouri and Arkansas to the United States. . . .

THE PARKING PROBLEM IN 1850

From the *Boonville Observer*, September 12, 1850.

We have noticed an ordinance of our city board which prohibits under a penalty, any one from driving or letting remain his horses, mules, or oxen in front, or near to any private residence within the City of Boonville without the consent of the occupant.

There is nothing to object to this ordinance in itself, for it is not to be denied that many of our citizens have been much annoyed by horses and other animals being left hitched to their fences. But the people from the country who visit our town to do business, must necessarily hitch their horses somewhere in the meantime, and we think that our City authorities would have done well if, before passing the ordinance in question, they had caused racks to be put up in the most convenient parts of the town.

RELIGIOUS CANDY

From the *St. Louis Republican*, January 27, 1875.

A firm of C. H. Brown & Co. has recently been advertising through the religious papers of the country that they are in business in St. Louis, and that they can furnish at remarkably low rates and with special inducements, just such candies as families of high moral tone should not be without. The money should accompany the order, and the candies would be shipped without delay. The firm, it would seem, did quite an extensive business, the majority of orders being rather small. But its business consisted in simply receiving the orders and money, burning the former, pocketing the latter and saying no more about it. McDonald and Co. of Danville, Ills. failed to get their money's worth in due time and wrote to Chief Harrigan to ascertain why this perplexing delay—wherefore came not the candies. The chief told Officer Donnelly to go and see what was the trouble about shipping the goods, and Mr. Donnelly returned shortly afterwards with the firm of C. H. Brown & Co. and their whole establishment in tow. The firm consisted of Charles S. Allen, alias C. M. Starke, and the establishment consisted of a small valise with a few old clothes and some orders for candy which were

patiently waiting to be filled. Calling at the postoffice when Mr. Donnelly was there was what caused the firm's suspension. It is evident from the letters found with the firm, that persons in nearly all of our Western states have been cutting their eye teeth in the candy business.

THE BLACK BOTTLE HAD ITS POINTS

From the *Bowling Green Times*, May 10, 1888.

"A neat trick was played upon me by an old toper the other day" remarked Bent May to a Journal scribe. "The old soak brought in a black bottle and asked for 50 cents worth of whisky. I drew it and hung on to the bottle while he went through his pockets after the silver. Presently he put on a look of dismay, and said he had lost the money. 'All right' say I, and turned out the whiskey and put the bottle on the bar. He took it and went away, saying he'd be back after the inebriator presently. He didn't come, however, but five minutes later I found him sitting on a horse block around the corner poking something in a bottle with a stick, and after every poke turn out a thimbleful of whisky into a cup. I seized the bottle and made an investigation. What do you think I found? Why the old rascal had forced a sponge as big as my clenched fist into it, and this had soaked up a glassful of my whiskey when I filled the bottle."

A FASHION HAZARD OF 1888

From the *Bowling Green Times*, May 24, 1888.

A few nights ago a gentleman who had just undressed and prepared for bed, blew out the lamp on the table and was groping his way across the room, when feeling for the bed, his toe struck something cold and pliant. The thing seemed to open its mouth as the gentleman put the weight of his foot upon it, and he jerked up his foot in double quick time, while the thing held its holt and dangled from his toe. There was lively dancing around the darkened room and the man made a lively racket with his mouth till he succeeded in slinging the thing across the room. Then he jumped up on a table and stood there until he could light a lamp. Over near where the thing had struck the wall he saw his wife's wire spring bustle lying on the floor. He kicked himself a few times and went to bed but his wife kept awake for an hour laughing at him.

HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN READING THE POST CARDS

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, October 30, 1819.

The mail that should have arrived on Thursday after-noon did not reach here till yesterday morning. We have not understood the cause of this failure, but presume that the post rider was detained at a tipping shop, or something of the kind.

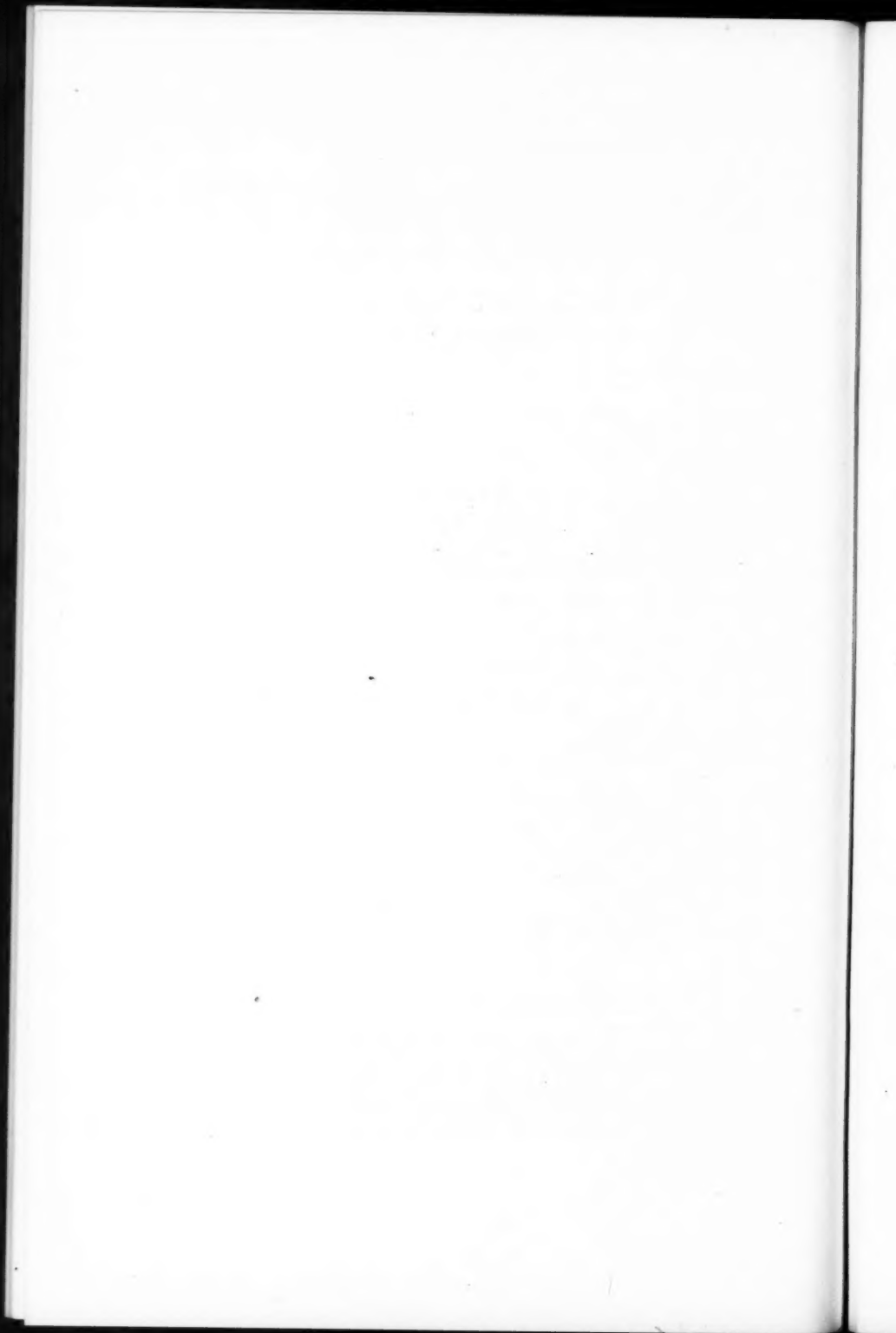
BACON WASN'T \$1 A POUND THEN

From the Jefferson City *People's Tribune*, July 20, 1881.

We believe there is a hog law on the statute books of our city prohibiting the hogs running at large. If so, why is it not enforced? Hogs, big and little, roam around all over town at their pleasure. Somebody's old sow and nine pigs loaf around our premises and furnish us a kind of swinette concert of a sort and at a time that we do not relish, and we have no way of stopping this concert business. We would like to see the law enforced against this family at least.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

- Agricultural History*, January: "Grant's Letters to His Missouri Farm Tenents," by Leroy H. Fischer.
- American-German Review*, February: "German Art in the City Art Museum of St. Louis," by Theodore Schreiber.
- Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, January: "Tales of Old Howard County Cemeteries," by Lilburn A. Kingsley.
- Ibid.*: "Missouri Cookery," by Charles van Ravenswaay.
- Chicago Sun Book Week*, April 27: "It Takes All Kinds," by Lloyd Lewis.
- Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, April: "The Old Lutherans Come," by Ralph Dornfeld Owen.
- Holiday*, April: "Mark Twain's Hannibal," by Gaile Dugas.
- Journal of the Illinois State Archaeological Society*, April: "Motto of the St. Louis Archaeologist Club."
- Ibid.*: "Ozarks Archaeologists Organize Chapter."
- Journal of the Missouri Bar*, April: "The John Findley Green Foundation," by Hugh P. Williamson.
- The Junior Historian of the Texas State Historical Association*, March: "Stephen F. Austin—A Tribute," by James G. La Coume, Jr.
- The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, April, 1946: "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," by Laura L. Porteous.
- Missouri Law Review*, January: "Homestead, Personal Property and Wage Exemptions in Missouri and Other States," by Paul D. Hess, Jr.
- National Municipal Review*, March: "How to Get a New Constitution," by Charlton F. Chute.
- Nebraska History*, January-March: "The Missouri Basin Archaeological Survey," by Waldo R. Wedel.
- The New Mexico Historical Review*, January: "The Year of Decision," by William A. Keleher.
- Ibid.*: "Black-Robed Justice in New Mexico, 1846-1912," by Arie Poldervaart.
- New Republic*, January 6: "Harry Truman's Bright Young Man," by Tris Coffin.
- Railroad*, April: "Stationmaster," by Freeman H. Hubbard.
- School and Society*, September 1, 1945: "The School Days of Harry S. Truman: Typical American," by Cyril Clemens.



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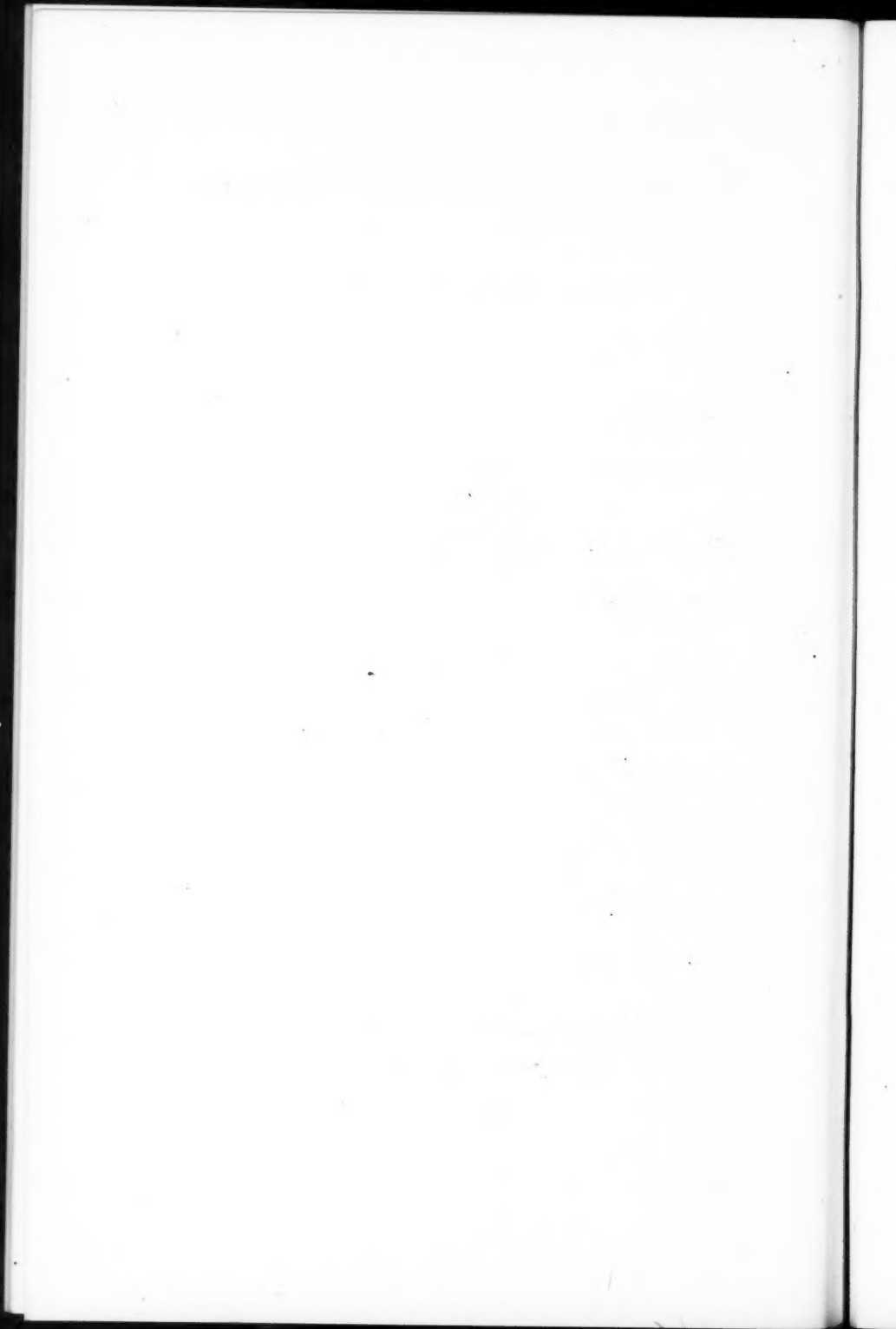
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Contents

	Page
BOONSLICKERS IN THE GOLD RUSH. By <i>Kate L. Gregg</i>	345
DANIEL BOONE'S SONS IN MISSOURI. By <i>John K. Hulston</i>	361
FIELD'S, EUGENE, NEWSPAPER DAYS IN ST. LOUIS. By <i>Harry R. Burke</i>	137
HESSE, NICHOLAS, GERMAN VISITOR TO MISSOURI, 1835-1837. Translated by <i>William G. Bek</i>	
Part I.....	19
Part II.....	164
Part III.....	285
Part IV.....	373
MISSOURI AND THE WAR. By <i>Dorothy Dysart Flynn</i>	
Part XVII.....	56
Part XVIII.....	184
MISSOURI AUTHORS AND JOURNALISTS IN THE ORIENT. By <i>John B. Powell</i>	45
MISSOURI LITERATURE SINCE THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By <i>Minnie M. Brashear</i>	
Part III, The Novel.....	241
MISSOURI READER, THE: THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY	
Part V. Edited by <i>Marie George Windell</i>	77
Part VI. Edited by <i>Marie George Windell</i>	192
Part VII. Edited by <i>Dorothy Penn</i>	305
Part VIII. Edited by <i>Dorothy Penn</i>	391
NEW ENGLAND BUSINESS INTERESTS IN MISSOURI DURING THE CIVIL WAR. By <i>George Winston Smith</i>	1
PEALE, TITIAN RAMSEY, THE JOURNAL OF. Edited by <i>Asa Orin Weese</i>	
Part I.....	147
Part II.....	266
HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS	
Activities of County Historical Societies.....	114, 221, 319, 412
Anniversaries.....	116, 223, 322, 413
Back Issues of the Review Wanted.....	318
Closing of Jefferson Barracks.....	112
Gillaspie Collection of War Letters.....	410

Contents

	Page
Historical Publications.....	124, 228, 329, 419
Joseph Pulitzer Centennial Memorial.....	409
Lutheran Centennial.....	409
Members Active in Increasing Society's Membership.....	107, 217, 315, 406
Microfilming Missouri Weekly Newspapers.....	411
Missouri Historical Data in Magazines.....	136, 238, 343, 433
Missouri Rides the Waves.....	110
Monuments and Memorials.....	117, 224
Native Son Makes Important Contributions to the Society.....	220
New Members of the Society.....	107, 218, 315, 407
Notes.....	118, 224, 323, 414
Obituaries.....	127, 232, 333, 423
Publication of Ozark Folksongs.....	317
Publication of Territorial Papers.....	110
Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Missouri.....	111
Weekly Feature Articles of the Society.....	112, 220, 318, 411
MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS	
Allsman Murder and the Palmyra Massacre, The.....	340
Ascension Day.....	135
Bacon Wasn't \$1 a Pound Then.....	433
Black Bottle Had It's Points, The.....	432
Bohemians in China.....	132
Fashion Hazard of 1888, A.....	432
Few Words on Gambling, A.....	338
For Early Risers.....	340
Founding of St. Joseph, The.....	428
Frozen Assets Liquidated.....	342
Gone Are the Days.....	337
Halls of Song.....	131
He'll Soon Have Time on His Hands.....	133
He Might Have Been Reading the Post Cards.....	432
Improving the Solitary Mind.....	134
Jug Fishing.....	338
Mail Call.....	131
Making Hay While the Sun Shines.....	133
Missouri's Fort Knox.....	429
More Silver Mines.....	235
No More Stutterers.....	339
No Roofs for the Weary.....	132
Not by a Dam Site.....	234
Over Their Heads.....	430
Page Diogenes.....	340
Parking Problem in 1850, The.....	431
Prefabricated, No Doubt!.....	133

Contents

	Page
Promoting the Pickle.....	134
Punch, Brothers, Punch.....	131
Quick Slick Trick, A.....	339
Religious Candy.....	431
Servant Is Worthy of His Hire, The.....	135
Stealing His Thunder.....	342
They Had the Jump on Psychiatry.....	429
To Beat the Band.....	135
To Forgive Divine.....	337
Up a Tree.....	235
Vile Slander, A.....	133
Waiting for a Freeze.....	234
We've Heard the Name.....	234
What Is the World Coming To?.....	430
When All Kansas City Went to Swope Park.....	235
Where History Abounds.....	430
Wrong Persuasion, The.....	235

Contents

Illustrations

	Page
FUR TRADERS DESCENDING THE MISSOURI. October 1946 cover design, from a painting by George Caleb Bingham.	
EARLY LEAD MINING. January 1947 cover design, from a mural by O. E. Berninghaus in the Missouri State Capitol	
BULL BOATS ON THE MISSOURI. April 1947 cover design, from Maxi- milian's <i>Travels in the Interior of North America</i> in R. G. Thwaites, ed., <i>Early Western Travels 1748-1846</i> .	
BOONE'S LICK SPRING. SONS OF DANIEL BOONE MAKING SALT 1807. July 1947 cover design, from a mural by Victor Higgins in the Mis- souri State Capitol.	
HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD TRAIN.....	6
RAILROAD BLOCK HOUSE ON CHARITON RIVER.....	6

